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# TRANSVAAL PROBLEMS

LIONEL PHILLIPS

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# TRANSVAAL PROBLEMS

# TRANSVAAL PROBLEMS

## SOME NOTES ON CURRENT POLITICS

By LIONEL PHILLIPS

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
1905

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366090

TO VISCOUNT MILNER

P.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

FOR SEVEN YEARS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR SOUTH AFRICA

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK

WITH ADMIRATION AND RESPECT

# PREFACE

EN I went on a visit to South Africa recently, it with no intention of writing a book. Experience taught me that there are more pleasant ways of ıding the homeward voyage than that of sitting after day in a hot cabin studying reports, ysing speeches, digesting statistics, and recording, ı through the medium of a shorthand writer, the ctions inspired and the conclusions arrived at.

My object is to present in a consecutive shape rmation, much of which has already been pub- ed in a fragmentary way, and to consider, in the light he most recent knowledge, a number of important stions, affecting in some instances the Transvaal ıe, and in others the whole of South Africa. In retrospect I was tempted to drift into reminiscences the early days, as the reader will see, and had check the impulse ruthlessly, passing to a short orical review from 1881 to the termination of late war. The chapters upon the work of recon- ction and upon the industrial and labour stions do not call for preliminary remarks. That n the native question touches the fringe of a ject of vital importance to South Africa, and of

the deepest interest to mankind. I have ventured to offer a few suggestions, which, I trust, may provide at least a provisional basis for thought and discussion. My aim throughout has been to paint the situation as it is, and not to disguise disturbing elements, or to avoid all reference to complex and thorny problems, because a solution depends not upon ignoring, but upon examining, appreciating, and grappling with the difficulties.

The remaining chapters require no explanation. The first essential in the Transvaal at present is hard work, directed to the fullest and speediest development of her great resources. This being the case, it is to be regretted that circumstances rendered it necessary to depart from the existing system of Crown Colony Government. The change in the political status opens up an arena in which men of various opinions are bound to contend for adherents, instead of devoting all their powers to the much-needed economic expansion. At the same time, the bestowal of representative institutions is a big stride towards civil liberty and responsibility. The happiness and progress of the country depend upon the manner in which the inhabitants work under the new Constitution, and I have therefore devoted a good deal of space to the consideration of the political position and outlook, hoping that it may serve a useful purpose in view of the forthcoming elections.

South African and British interests alike demand,

and Englishmen as well as Dutchmen honestly desire, an extinction of the race-feud; but—and here comes the difficulty—both sides strive for something which the other is for the moment disinclined to give. In the first elections, at any rate, we must see the old conflict for racial ascendency reappear. No writing or talking will cure the malady, which may, however, be expected to disappear in time, given impartial and fearless treatment, coupled with capable and honest administration. Sops to the Boers in the shape of unjustifiable concessions, so far from securing their good will, will merely provoke their contempt. After the elections have determined the strength of parties, the hope of ultimate union and the obliteration of racial animosities lies in combinations that may be formed in the Legislature, irrespective of race, upon questions affecting national progress. If the material gathered together in this little work should prove of any service in this great cause, I shall feel amply repaid for my labour.

It remains to express my indebtedness to the assistants who collected statistics for me, and to the Johannesburg daily papers, the *Star*, the *Transvaal Leader*, and the *Rand Daily Mail*, whose reports of speeches, from which I have made numerous quotations, have been invaluable. I have also to thank many friends, among whom I must single out Mr John Buchan, whose advice and help I acknowledge with gratitude.

Lastly, I would say to my old acquaintances in

the Transvaal, that if a sentence should here and there seem over-critical, it is not written in any censorious spirit, but as a danger-signal against haste and heat—two qualities naturally inherent in all young, vigorous and intelligent communities such as that which inhabits Johannesburg.

L. P.

*August* 1905.

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# TRANSVAAL PROBLEMS

## INTRODUCTION

### A RETROSPECT

THE emotions with which I set foot upon South African territory, after an absence of more than eight years, are not easily described. My acquaintance with the country began in 1875, when the terminus of the railway from Cape Town was at Wellington, 45 miles inland, the journey to Kimberley, my destination, being performed by mule waggon in thirty days. My twenty years' residence there was broken only by short trips to various parts of the sub-continent and home. Vast changes, political, social, and economic, have taken place since I first landed. The Cape Colony was then the distributing centre for nearly the whole trade of South Africa, and the average annual amount of imports and exports during a period of five years, before the influence of the mineral discoveries was reflected in general trade, were, respectively, £2,176,903 and £2,445,904. These amounts rose to £4,002,869 and £4,648,092 for a similar period immediately after the discovery of diamonds. Taking the average for ten years before the effect of gold-mining was reflected in the returns, they are found to have increased to £6,494,735 and £6,900,548 respectively, while for 1894-98, when both

the gold and diamond industries were in full swing, the imports had swollen to £15,479,864, and the exports to £18,261,246.[1]

Prior to the discovery of the Diamond Fields the white population pursued the even tenour of their way with nothing beyond their own rebellions and sanguinary battles with the natives "to stir men's blood." Progress was hardly noticeable, the wants of the people being extremely limited, and incentives to activity all but non-existent. The mail steamers, vessels of a few hundred tons burthen, entered Table Bay somewhat irregularly about once a month, having usually spent at least thirty-five days on the way, the luxury of the modern ocean greyhound being unknown. In those days the voyage was broken by a call at Madeira and at St Helena, with sometimes a glance at H.M.'s Ship *Ascension*. Neptune held his rude festival at the crossing of the line, to the dismay of the uninitiated, the oil lamps in the saloon swung rhythmically with the pitching and rolling of the ship, emitting noxious odours which added a fresh horror to the other influences that disturbed one's mind and body, and a single candle, lodged in a little recess between two cabins (into both of which its dazzling rays penetrated through ground glass), afforded illumination by night. It was removed at ten o'clock, by which time one had a choice of being in bed or of retiring in the dark.

The journey up-country was sometimes fruitful of mild adventures and always of many discomforts. Breakdowns, miles from habitations, not infrequent; days upon days of weary toil across the bare Karoo; a little water for one's toilet quite a luxury, and a delay of ten days or so, by a swollen Orange River in the season of up-country rains, a likely occurrence!

[1] These figures are taken from the Statistical Register of the Cape of Good Hope.

A line of coaches to Kimberley had been started, and by that means a dozen inside passengers, packed like sardines in a tin, not to mention outside passengers and piles of luggage, accomplished the journey in a week, travelling night and day. When I arrived, the service had broken down, and so I went by mule waggon. It happened that the late General (then Colonel) Glyn, with his regiment, the 24th, in which General Carrington was a subaltern, was ordered to the Diamond Fields at that time to quell "the rebellion," the most sanguinary feature in connection with which consisted in the raising of the black flag. It will be remembered that Alfred Aylward, the Fenian, was prominent in that affair. We arrived one night and camped outside De Beers, expecting on the morrow to see an attack upon the town, instead of which a luncheon was given on the market square, and all was well.

Many incidents of the road recur to me as I write, and amongst others the excitement one felt the first time crossing a South African River at what is termed "the drift." Boulders of various sizes, concealed beneath the water, tilt the vehicles at angles that threaten an imminent upset, the bumps against which, the tug on to which and the drop from which, make no trifling demand upon their strength and upon the nerves of the occupants. But of the whole 600 miles from Wellington to the Diamond Fields there is a small section of 5 or 6 miles approaching Hope Town on the Orange River, which must always remain vividly impressed in the memory of any one who has traversed it. It consists of a region of deep red sand. A man even of light stature soon discovers the immense strain involved in ploughing through it, and if he is walking beside the waggon his sense of pity is stirred to the uttermost for the poor animals dragging it through the heavy, yielding, ferruginous soil, into which the wheels

sink a foot or more in depth. Those miles, short in number, seemed interminable in length, and all the while the coloured drivers urged on the luckless quadrupeds with shouts of "Vat" and "Trek," and plied their immense whips with merciless frequency and violence. Each mule was addressed by name the moment it evinced the least sign of shirking, and if it failed to respond instantly, the cruel thong descended upon it with unerring aim. Every few hundred yards a halt was made to allow the palpitating animals to gain breath—or they would die—and then the harrowing performance recommenced. It is thirty years since I last witnessed those scenes, but they rise up so clearly in my imagination that it seems but yesterday, and the memory of the distress that I suffered at the time revives as I describe them.

Though the scenes of those bygone years recur vividly to the mind, I must curb my inclination and leave their description to another day or another pen. One point, however, should be noted, for it throws light upon the vitality that the influx of strenuous Europeans carried into that land of lethargy. During the long summer days we used to be on the Kimberley reef at 4.30 A.M., and we laboured vigorously through the broiling hours of the day until the sun went down about seven o'clock in the evening. Those were stirring days, spent mostly in shirt sleeves, for the conventions of civilisation had not then invaded the mining camp. The population consisted almost entirely of young men (for scarcely a lady had yet ventured into that reputedly wild region), whose pockets were nearly always empty, but whose hearts were light and spirits free as air. At first the camp was composed of a series of tents, which were followed by houses consisting of a wooden framework covered with canvas. Many a time during heavy wind storms, that raised dense volumes of dust, these fragile structures would be

ruthlessly swept from their moorings and deposited yards away, the helpless occupants, sometimes in bed, regarding the havoc in dismay from the *débris*.

The industry made rapid strides, and the town of Kimberley soon boasted a large collection of galvanised iron buildings, hideous to look upon, but offering a securer shelter than their more picturesque predecessors. The Kaffirs became imbued with the energy of their employers, and worked with a will. It was their first practical acquaintance with the white man, and the mechanical contrivances which were rapidly invented to suit the exigences of the work. For the "Umlungu" they had unbounded admiration, and I have often heard them say "the white man can do anything, but he can't tie up the sun." The development proceeded at racing speed, winding by hand was superseded by horse gears, and these were displaced, almost before one could turn round, by steam engines.

Imagine the change that was wrought in the land. At the seaports cargoes came in rapid succession and were sent up country upon hundreds of waggons drawn by oxen or mules, soon to be supplanted by the railway, and people flocked in thousands to the "El Dorado." And the hotels—such hotels! Men slept how and where they could. Water was terribly scarce, and the luxurious had often to use soda-water to wash in. One does not realise the limited capacity of a soda-water bottle until one is driven to employ it thus. Tinned food and pressed vegetables, looking like cakes of tobacco, formed an important item of diet, and fever—not of a very virulent type happily—attacked most of us. But with all the discomforts, men were neighbourly and good-humoured, ever ready to give a helping hand to the needy or luckless, and kind, to a surprising degree, in cases of illness. I always look back upon those times with joy, not only because I was healthy and active, and, having attained my majority, was

beginning life in a new country with all the optimism of youth, but because I learnt to have a high respect for, and confidence in, mankind. The vices of civilisation are mostly bred of indolence and envy. I learned also to respect many of the admirable qualities of the Boers. Their hospitality to strange men, wending their weary way to Kimberley, was great. Their resources were very limited, but before the great rush began, they gave food and lodging to travellers, and frequently refused payment. Memories of services rendered to them in their early "treks" caused them to regard similar services to the new-comers as a matter of duty, and only when the stream of invaders altogether forbade the continuation of free hospitality, and a certain number of ungrateful and ill-bred Europeans had abused their kindness and insulted them by openly laughing at them and their surroundings, did they close the doors of their dwellings and shun the stranger. In Cape Town it was not an uncommon thing then to meet Africanders scarcely able to speak our tongue, who called themselves English. There was at that time a genuine respect for the Mother Country, which a little common-sense and fixity of purpose would have perpetuated.

. . . . . .

The history of the last thirty years is so fresh in the minds of all, that the briefest possible glance at it will suffice, but to appreciate the present conditions and to form an estimate of the future, not entirely fanciful, it is well to secure the perspective.

Beyond a dispute with the Orange Free State concerning the boundary between that country and Griqualand West, in which was involved the question of sovereignty over the Kimberley mines, finally settled by Great Britain paying £90,000 as compensation, nothing of importance occurred until the year 1877, when the annexation of the Transvaal took place.

That there was every justification for the step taken is scarcely open to doubt. The failure of the burghers to conquer Secocoeni, and the inhuman tactics subsequently adopted by filibusters under Von Schlickman (to whom the task had been handed over without pay, but with a condition that their reward was to consist of land and cattle to be seized from the natives), caused Lord Carnarvon to insist upon something being done to stop the war,[1] and Sir Theophilus Shepstone was sent to the Transvaal upon a special mission "to confer with the President on the question of confederation, with discretion, should the course of events make it expedient, and subject to confirmation by the British Government, to arrange for its being brought under the British flag."

The Transvaal treasury was empty, war with the Zulus was imminent, and the government of the country only nominally in existence. Under the circumstances British intervention became imperative. The great blunder of Sir T. Shepstone consisted in his acceptance of the protest of President Burgers. In his letter to the Colonial Office he wrote:[2]—

"There will be a protest against my act of annexation issued by the Government," but described that step as merely taken "to save appearances, and the members of the Government from the violence of a faction that seems for years to have held Pretoria in terror when any act of the Government displeased it. You will better understand this when I tell you privately that the President has, from the first, fully acquiesced in the necessity for the change, and that most of the members of the Government have expressed themselves anxious for it—but none of them have had the courage openly to express their opinions, so I have had to act apparently against them; and this I have felt bound to do, knowing the state and danger of the country,

[1] See Martineau's "The Life of Sir Bartle Frere," vol. ii., pp. 176-8.

[2] Martineau, p. 180. April, Shepstone to Mr R. Herbert.

and that three-fourths of the people will be thankful for the change when once it is made."

Had the British representative resolutely declined to be a party to that well-meant deception, designed to shield the President and his Government from attacks by the insignificant section of malcontents, and hypocritically used as evidence that the sovereignty had not been surrendered without a struggle, the cession would inevitably have come about in a few weeks with the full consent of all the burghers, seeing the desperate plight the country was in politically and financially. It is an old truth that in public affairs, as in private life, make-believe shifts and deceptive expedients always recoil upon those who use them. Whether the subsequent disastrous events would have been averted if the British Commissioner had acted otherwise is doubtful, but that it afforded a foundation for the rebellion that ensued is indisputable.

Upon being apprised that England had annexed the Transvaal, Cetywayo, who had organised an army to invade it, replied that he would send his Impis back to their homes, and it was hoped that the danger of trouble with that chief had disappeared. Shortly afterwards war broke out in the Cape Colony with the Gaikas and Galekas, and peace was only restored in the territories of the Transkei in 1878. By the end of that year the Zulu war had begun, and though that powerful tribe was finally subdued, the loss in blood, treasure, and British prestige was considerable. The carelessness which made the massacre at Isandhlwana[1] possible must have astounded the cautious Boer, and the knowledge he then gained of the Englishman's contempt for the enemy, and his fatal neglect of those precautions against surprise, which ordinary common-sense should dictate, may have contributed

[1] Pronounced Insandjluane.

in no small measure to determine his later course of action.

That the burghers of the Transvaal had serious grievances during the British occupation, and that Sir Owen Lanyon's administration was far from perfect, cannot be denied, but the actual cause of the rebellion was the agitation of a few extremists who persuaded the multitude that they had been robbed of their independence. The Zulu war brought renewed prosperity to the Boers, amongst whom large sums were distributed for transport, forage, etc., but, so far from attributing the improvement in their material position to its real cause, they listened to insidious suggestions that they would have been still better off under their own flag.

The rebellion began by a questionable if not an actually treacherous attack upon British troops under Colonel Anstruther at Bronkhorst Spruit, followed by a series of minor defeats that culminated in the disaster upon Majuba Hill. That mere peasants should have been victorious against trained soldiers was deemed surprising, but that Great Britain should have yielded to rebels in arms, after they had successfully invaded her colony of Natal, caused universal amazement, and to her subjects in South Africa a sense of profound degradation. In writing to Sir Bartle Frere upon 29th March and 26th April 1881,[1] Lanyon described in pathetic terms the evil consequences of the retrocession and the deplorable breach of faith to the Loyalists and the natives it involved. It is unnecessary to consider now the reasons that prompted the Government of the day in their suicidal policy. Whether the spirit of magnanimity, the horror of blood-guiltiness, or the fear of a general rising of the Dutch in South Africa prevailed does not affect the result, which was patent at the time to all colonists, and is an admirable illustra-

[1] Martineau, p. 417.

tion of the truth that the strong may be generous to the weak in the face of demonstrated strength, but under threats, or, worse still, after blows not returned with interest—never. All men, even statesmen, are fallible, and probably not one of those who took part in or consented to the retrocession would, by the light of later events, defend his action. It was a blunder of the first magnitude, and spelt the loss of South Africa to the British Empire or a great war.[1]

It gave birth to the Boer nation, and emboldened the Africander Bond, then formed, to raise its voice and pursue an active policy, the aim of which was manifested in the Cape Legislature. Insidious measures of an anti-English character were passed, and the language of Holland was cultivated as the nearest lingual approach to the "taal" that could be reasonably committed to paper. Applause was now lavished on compatriots across the Vaal, and the colonial Boer forgot that prior to the war his attitude toward them had been rather patronising and contemptuous. Fortune smiled upon the resuscitated Republic, and the discovery, first of the De Kaap Gold Fields, and later of the wonderful Witwatersrand, brought a large population and a vast amount of capital under the control of the Transvaal Government.

[1] I believe that Sir Bartle Frere, in a letter or a speech, used this expression, but I cannot find it in print, despite a diligent search. In a private letter, which I am able to produce through the kindness of Sir George Arthur, the opinion of Sir Bartle Frere upon the projected retirement is very clearly expressed:—"Further, any attempt to give back or restore the Boer Republic to the Transvaal must lead to anarchy and failure, and probably at no distant date to a vicious imitation of some South American Republics, in which the more uneducated and misguided Boers, dominated and led by better educated foreign adventurers—Germans, Hollanders, Irish Home Rulers, and other European Republicans and Socialists—will become a pest to the whole of South Africa, and a most dangerous fulcrum to any European Power bent on contesting our naval supremacy, or on injuring us in our colonies."

It is needless to make more than a passing reference to the events that drove the oppressed Uitlander population to the verge of revolution, or to the Jameson Raid, which was only one episode in a great struggle.[1] No matter what condemnation that ill-starred movement may deserve, it served one useful purpose in drawing the attention of Englishmen to the condition of political affairs in the Transvaal at a time when that country had almost dropped out of sight. The policy of President Kruger was always simple and definite. He fostered the gold mining industry sufficiently to draw the revenue deemed requisite for State purposes, including the purchase of arms and building of forts, but by granting monopolies and by many other ingenious devices prevented a too rapid expansion, and put a limit to the influx of the hated European. He tried by various methods to obtain a seaport, and to cut Great Britain off from the North. In the latter object he met a superior opponent in Mr Rhodes, who frustrated his plans in Bechuanaland, and finally secured the concession from Lo Bengula, which is to-day worked under a Royal Charter, and covers an immense territory that has become, politically speaking, a British possession.

President Kruger entered into intrigues with foreign powers, notably with Germany, following in this particular the example of President Burgers in 1877,[2] with the object of involving England in complications. He consistently acted towards her inimically, both openly and in secret. At the Bloemfontein Conference, which took place in May 1899, his insincerity was unmasked by Sir Alfred Milner, and being brought to bay he launched his insolent ultimatum. The

[1] Those who are not familiar with the history of that period cannot do better than study the admirable work of Sir J. P. Fitzpatrick, "The Transvaal from Within."

[2] Martineau, vol. ii., p. 183. Frere to Maclean.

perfection of his preparations and the efficient state of his organisation is irrefutable evidence of his intention sooner or later to engage in a conflict with the Suzerain Power, notwithstanding his repeated declarations that the precautions were taken solely against his traditional tortoise, if it ventured to protrude its head.

No useful purpose could be served by discussing the probable result if the struggle had been postponed for a few years, but the extraordinary exertions that the Empire had to make is convincing testimony that the policy of conciliation adopted by Mr Chamberlain and Lord Milner, which evoked nothing but prevarication, evasion, and defiance, was carried to the utmost limits of endurance, and beyond the boundaries of prudence. The Boer is a hard-headed, dogged, and self-respecting man. He understands and appreciates a firm and just policy, and is prepared to accept it, but he regards conciliation as cowardice, and magnanimity as weakness. It is necessary to remember that these characteristics are in him inherent and immutable; to forget or ignore them is to tread the path that led to disaster in the past.

# CHAPTER I

## AFTER THE WAR

LORD MILNER took up his residence in the Transvaal about March 1901, a little over a year before peace was concluded, and set to work at once laying the foundations of the future. No description can do justice to the appalling situation by which he was confronted, and no words of appreciation are too extravagant in recognition of the gigantic task he undertook or the way he discharged it.

The termination of hostilities left the Transvaal and Orange River Colony in a condition of complete devastation. The over-worked railways were in very bad repair, the rolling stock depleted, the land out of cultivation, herds and flocks gone, roads and bridges destroyed, the mining industry at a standstill and the labour supply scattered. The Concentration Camps were full of women and children waiting to be sent to their homes, there were surrendered burghers to be provided for and thousands of deported prisoners to be repatriated. The Uitlander population, scattered about in various parts of the Cape Colony and Natal, was suffering acutely, and clamouring to be permitted to return. Military exigencies still monopolised the inefficient railways, and transport was a problem of the first magnitude, the Boer waggons, which were numerous at the beginning of the war, being destroyed or worn out, and teams of oxen or mules unobtainable. Add to these facts, the entire absence of the machinery

of government, and one may obtain a faint idea of the situation Lord Milner had to face.

Nor was the condition of the Cape Colony at the time by any means calculated to lessen the anxieties of the High Commissioner. When one pauses to consider the multiplicity of the questions that had to be dealt with, all of a more or less urgent character, one realises the force of intellect required to decide where to begin, to detect distinctions in urgency, to found departments capable of expansion, to appoint suitable men to run them, and to do these things, not in a calm environment, but in an atmosphere where the smoke of the cannon had scarcely died away, and where day and night the administrator was bombarded with messages demanding personal attention, and invaded by crowds of subordinates needing counsel and instruction.

It may be safely said of Lord Milner that his achievement is a monument of extraordinary capacity, and that he has established the Government of the new colonies upon a high plane, which it will need all the intelligence of his successors to maintain. No one charged with so difficult an undertaking could complete it without making some mistakes, but they were certainly few and unimportant. Apart altogether from the mental power he displayed, his refusal to become Secretary for the Colonies in England because he felt that South Africa still needed his services, and his retention of the High Commissionership until his health gave way, show the reality of his patriotism. The ignorance and the ingratitude of carping critics, both in England and in South Africa, cannot sully his reputation, however effectually it may dispose of their own. "By their judgment be they judged!"

In the narrow limits of these notes upon the Transvaal I propose merely to refer to the work accomplished, without attempting to discuss it in

detail. Volumes would be needed to review the labours of Lord Milner, of Sir Arthur Lawley, and of the able men who devoted the whole of their time, thought, and endeavour, to the building up of the administrative structure as it exists to-day.

The fabric of Government had to be created from the start. Bridges were rebuilt, roads repaired, public buildings increased, railways put in order, re-equipped, and extended, schools built, prisons improved, asylums founded, and a vast amount spent in public works generally. The Courts of Justice were re-established, laws amended, and local tribunals provided all over the country. In forming the Legislative Council two years ago, it is admitted that Lord Milner selected from the most capable, representative, and public-spirited men available.

The good judgment he evinced in this respect argues in favour of his having been equally circumspect in the choice of other officials, among whom were a number of highly educated young Englishmen, representing a cultured class only too rare in the colonies. It goes without saying that, among a number of young men, some should have failed, and on this account it has become the fashion with some of his detractors to rail against "the young men from Oxford." A more unjust or ill-founded point of view cannot well be conceived. The young men from Oxford have, in most cases, proved themselves capable, upright, indefatigable, and industrious, and many of them had the advantage of special training in some branch of the public service before entering upon their duties in the Transvaal. In any case, what was wanted above all things in new officials in a country in process of transformation was a trained mind, *élan*, and adaptability, as well as complete reliability of character. Where these endowments could be found locally, they were gladly used: but it was obvious that in a small

population it was unlikely that they would be found in the number of instances required.

Returning to the colony after a prolonged absence, I was struck afresh by the curiously narrow-minded outlook of a certain small section of the inhabitants. After residing for some years in England, where the range of subjects is so much wider, where the affairs of the whole Empire are constantly before the public, and where there are so many men of high mental calibre and culture, the self-satisfied confidence and supreme conceit of some of these gentlemen was brought home to me. To hear them talk one would suppose that Prime Ministers abound and Chancellors of the Exchequer can be had for the asking. In their opinion no one but a resident in South Africa has the capacity to run a department. In a given number of essentially South African questions, such as native affairs, Asiatic trading, etc., there is much force in their argument, but in general administration, in regulating the incidence of taxation, in controlling the exchequer, or in the general art of government, the English trained official is infinitely more competent than the untrained colonial, no matter how great his common-sense or how wide his knowledge of the country.

"Interference in *our* affairs" is a very favourite expression with the class of man to whom I allude. He is entirely oblivious of past history, he ignores the fact that Great Britain at an immense sacrifice in blood and treasure secured his freedom, he thinks that because he lives in the country he has the right to dictate to the Imperial Government in place of their having a *duty* for the present to dictate to him, and in his overweening opinion of his own importance, thinks nothing of annihilating the British Cabinet, the High Commissioner, and all his subordinates, and of passing a sweeping condemnation upon all their works. Fortunately for South Africa the influence of such men

is of small moment when critical occasions arise, but it is no less surprising on that account that stars of this order are able to find a certain number of satellites to follow in their orbit.

That every one should mind his own business is one of the few truisms that are always true. The mistake made by the men to whom I refer, lies in their regarding everything in connection with governing the Transvaal as their business. They ignore the fact that almost the entire burden of conquest has fallen upon the shoulders of the forty millions of His Majesty's subjects in Great Britain, and that, though South Africans are entitled to every recognition for the splendid services rendered by them during the war, and the privations endured, yet it is the duty of Great Britain as the directing power in the Empire, to prevent the work of the war being undone, and to set the new colonies on a sound imperial basis. False doctrines are very apt to sink with startling rapidity into the minds of the ignorant classes, and some of these men, therefore, who talk so loudly about "our affairs" and "our rights" might well pause to consider the untenable position they take up, and the damage their ill-considered exhortations may cause. The bulk of the British population is, I believe, in spite of the incitements of the few, fully alive to the real condition of affairs, and not inclined to be obstreperous in their relations with the British authorities.

If the dream of Imperial Federation is ever to take solid shape, all the constituent countries in the union will have to bow to the decision of the representatives of the entire family in all questions of Imperial concern. Any drawbacks in the subordination of the existing all but complete liberty of action enjoyed by the self-governing colonies to the will of the whole would truly be insignificant beside the advantages of combination; but, if ever this is to be accomplished, the inhabitants

of the present aggregation of separate countries that are comprised in the British Empire will have to master and accept the principle that the *definition* of "our affairs" will be removed from their control.

In view of these considerations, it is clear how short-sighted is the attitude of those in the Transvaal who, at this early period after the war, are inclined to set themselves up as arbiters as to what are or are not matters of a purely domestic character. If, for the sake of argument, it be granted that the inhabitants of the Transvaal could have settled their domestic concerns better, quicker, and cheaper than did Lord Milner and his staff, which I do not personally believe, the advantages of the course adopted would still preponderate immeasurably, because the foundation has been laid upon an Imperial and not upon a provincial basis, and the way is paved for an expansion that will conceivably end in South African Federation.

The greatest novelty in Government, introduced by Lord Milner, was the Inter-Colonial Council. This body was constituted by an Order in Council, and consists of twenty-five members, of whom twelve directly represent the Transvaal and ten the Orange River Colony.[1] It controls the revenue of the Central South

[1] MEMBERS OF INTER-COLONIAL COUNCIL.*

*As fixed by Order in Council, 21st April* 1904.

1 High Commissioner.
2. Lieutenant-Governor of Transvaal.
3. Lieutenant-Governor of Orange River Colony.
4. Inspector-General S.A.C.

Nominations by Lieutenant-Governor of Transvaal:—

5. Sir Richard Solomon.
6. P. Duncan.
7. Adam Jameson.
8. W. L. Hichens.

* The only alterations up to 31st May 1905 were that Mr H. Solomon had taken the place of Mr H. P. J. van Rensburg, and Mr B. J. S. Wessels that of Mr J. F. J. van Rensburg.

African Railways and the South African Constabulary, as well as certain lesser common services. It is also charged with the administration of and the payment of interest upon the guaranteed loan of thirty-five millions. It is not a popular institution, firstly, because it creates an *imperium in imperio*, and secondly, because

MEMBERS OF INTER-COLONIAL COUNCIL—*continued.*

Nominations by Lieutenant-Governor of Orange River Colony :—

9. H. F. Wilson.
10. A. Browne.
11. J. H. Meiring.
12. C. W. J. Palmer.

Nominations amongst unofficial members of Transvaal Legislature :—

13. Sir G. Farrar.
14. R. K. Loveday.
15. E. F. Bourke.
16. Wm. Hosken.
17. H. P. J. van Rensburg.
18. H. C. Hull.

Nominations amongst unofficial members of O.R.C. Legislature :—

19. Wm. Burns-Thomson.
20. J. F. J. van Rensburg.
21. J. G. Fraser.
22. H. W. Stockdale.

Nominations by a Secretary of State :—

23. Johann Rissik.
24. Thomas Brain.

Nomination by High Commissioner and Governor :—

25. Lieutenant-Colonel R. S. Curtis.

| | Transvaal. | Orange River Colony. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Official members . . . | 6 | 6 | |
| Non-official members . . | 6 | 4 | |
| | 12 | 10 | |
| | | | 22 |
| High Commissioner . . | | | 1 |
| Inspector-General S.A.C. . | | | 1 |
| Lieutenant-Colonel R. S. Curtis | | | 1 |
| TOTAL | | | 25 |

68.1
.61

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the object in view, and the benefits derived from it, are not properly understood. The railways are treated as the common property of the two colonies, and in the event of the surplus revenue being insufficient for the common services, each colony has to contribute to the deficit in proportion to its respective customs receipts. The primary advantage of the arrangement lies in the joint management of the railways and the consequent freedom of each colony to develop its railway system without damage to its neighbour. Supposing, for instance, the Transvaal imported all its supplies *via* Lourenço Marques, the Orange River Colony would not suffer in spite of none of the traffic passing over its lines, and *vice versa* it would not gain though the whole travelled *via* the Cape Colony.

The second point of vital importance is that all railway extension is removed from the sphere of party politics. There were no parties in the Transvaal or the Orange River Colony at the time Lord Milner created the Inter-Colonial Council, and he had the foresight to seize the occasion. Benefitting by the experience gained in the Cape Colony, where the jobbery in railway extension has been disastrous, owing to party influences, he determined to save the new colonies from that danger.[1]

In addition to the material advantages enumerated, Lord Milner had in mind another and more far-reaching object. By placing the railway systems under an independent body he paved the way for a possible amalgamation with the Cape Colonial and Natal trunk lines, and the consummation of this project, which may soon be achieved in spite of many difficulties that stand in the way, would be an immense stride in the direction of federation.

Different railway systems are not the only barrier

[1] *Vide* Third Report of the Commission on the Public Service, Cape of Good Hope, G 13, 1905.

to federation. The Customs Union is not in fact what it is in name, the agreement being limited to uniform tariffs. Before closer political union can be thought of a basis for the unification of customs receipts will have to be arranged. A full partnership in railways and customs may be far off, but in the Inter-Colonial Council there exists a nucleus from the development of which that ideal federation may be reached. The creation of the Inter-Colonial Council seems to me to have been, all things considered, a brilliant feat of statesmanship. Whether it is destined to fulfil the aims of Lord Milner or not belongs to the future. In this, as in all the other problems to which he devoted his mind, there is evidence of his far-seeing care.

The rehabilitation of the countries could not have been attempted upon the scale adopted, but for two facts of inestimable importance—(*a*) the financial support of Great Britain; (*b*) the demonstrated value of the mining industry. Considering the absence of data the early estimates made under Lord Milner's direction were extraordinarily accurate, and he showed a remarkable knowledge of, and faith in, the country at a time when the outlook was not, to say the least of it, of a rosy hue. Gradually the population was reinstated in the country and in the towns, and industrial life began; but the influx was not confined to persons in residence prior to the war. Many of the disbanded irregulars desired to take up their abode there, and a stream of emigrants began to flow in from England in anticipation of the revival and expansion that was unreasonably expected to take place as the immediate consequence of the British connection. Building began in feverish haste; new firms of merchants and traders established themselves, and enormous stocks were imported.

But labour for the mines, upon which the country was wholly dependent, unfortunately came in very

slowly, and a wave of severe depression swept over the land, carrying distress, disappointment, and discontent in its path. Human nature always impels men, when there is the slightest loop-hole, to attribute their own errors of judgment and misfortunes to causes beyond their control, and, in this case, as was natural, the Government came in for no small share of criticism and abuse because prosperity was absent. Among mining men there is an apt saying: "A good mine makes a good manager." Although the cause of the commercial trouble was self-evident, and it was physically impossible to revive agriculture in a hurry, Dutch and English alike had endured so much during the war: its impoverishing effects imposed such a strain upon them afterwards: and the disillusionment was so hard to bear, that it is not surprising their nerves were upon edge, their tempers ruffled, and their minds tuned to a querulous pitch.

The rural population, composed almost entirely of Boers, had less solid ground for dissatisfaction than the townspeople, because the wholesale ruin and desolation and their pitiable plight arose from the misguided prolongation of the struggle after the organisation of the Boer forces had been irreparably broken. The guerilla bands into which they degenerated involved some additional loss of life, a vast unnecessary consumption of treasure, and, what was more important to them, the destruction of most of the homesteads and depletion of the live stock. But for the benevolent attitude of Great Britain, their ill-considered action would have resulted in destitution almost past relief.

The task of repatriation, indeed, was of a magnitude which can scarcely be exaggerated. At the end of the war the British Government had undertaken the responsibility of rationing more than 27,000 prisoners of war, all of them, with the exception of about 2,000, beyond the seas. It was already supporting a total of 110,000

persons in the burgher camps, as well as nearly 100,000 native refugees. The farms of these people lay scattered over a territory twice the size of Great Britain, possessing practically no means of communication apart from the trunk line of railway, and devastated by war. The department constituted to grapple with the problem was compelled to become a kind of gigantic nurse to the whole Boer population, and at the time of its greatest pressure its staff consisted of 1,755 white men and 11,204 natives. It transported over 70,000 people to their homes in its own waggons over distances varying from 5 to 100 miles. The stock distributed through its agency to ex-burghers and settlers reached the enormous total of 150,000 animals, and 40,000 acres of land were ploughed by teams supplied by the department. These are facts which there is no disputing.

The authentic information which I have been able to gather is not very complete, but the following details give some idea of the magnitude of the working expenses in the present resettlement of the country. The approximate value of the buildings taken over from the South African Republic, compiled from the old returns at actual cost, amounted to £942,000. Included in this, of course, were many destroyed during the war. The present Government has spent £1,400,000 in replacing old buildings. Under the Republican Government there were proclaimed 5,000 miles of roads, and under the existing Government 7,000 miles, of which 200 miles of black turf road have been drained and hardened. Twenty-two permanent bridges of a solid character have been built, as well as five of a less permanent nature, making twenty-seven in all. Up to the 30th of June 1904, £475,594 had been spent upon roads and bridges.[1]

Under the "Settlers" and "Crown Land Disposal" Ordinances, 568 settlers are now in actual possession of

[1] Auditor-General's Report of 1902-3 and 1903-4.

allotted land. The area under cultivation by these settlers is considerable — in the Lake Chrissie district 1,575 morgen ;[1] in the Barberton and Lydenberg district, 1,105 morgen; in the western district, including Potchefstroom, Lichtenburg, Marico, and Rustenburg 5,995 morgen; and in the Waterberg district 3,250 morgen. In addition to the 11,925 morgen, given in detail above, returns are missing at present from the Zoutpansberg and Middelburg districts, which would add considerably to these figures.

The struggle for rural existence since the war has been particularly hard, owing not only to the enormous destruction of property and appliances, but also to the regrettable fact that the last few seasons have been unfavourable. From information that I have been able to gather, it would appear that the prospects are now brighter and the stress of life for the farming population, with their very limited wants, will speedily become less severe. In some districts, notably in Potchefstroom and Klerksdorp, the farmers may be deemed to be on their legs again, while in others, such as the Waterberg and Zoutpansberg districts, the distress is still very acute. The Government has given every assistance in its power, not only in making it possible for the Boer to restart upon the old lines, but in creating a Department of Agriculture,[2] through whose instrumentality active steps are being taken to improve methods and to combat pests and diseases. Tobacco, for instance, which it is not improbable may become a very important article of exportation, is receiving the attention of the Land Department, and Mr Altenroxel, the manager of the Tzaneen estate in the Zoutpansberg district, was sent to America to study the methods of growing and curing

[1] A morgen is about 2 acres.

[2] The observations upon the Government's action in regard to agriculture are taken from the report of Mr F. B. Smith, the Director of Agriculture, in his Annual Report for 1903-4.

tobacco in vogue there. He has now returned to the Transvaal, and is proceeding to make use of the information he has obtained. It would be of enormous advantage to secure the services of an expert tobacco-grower, who could initiate and superintend experiments in planting, in culture, and in curing the leaf. Experts command such high salaries in America that the Government cannot engage them, as it would not be reasonable to pay a higher salary to a cultivator of tobacco than to the Governor of the Transvaal. Private enterprise will, it is to be hoped, however, come to the assistance of the country in this very important matter. In the meantime I may mention a very interesting attempt which is being made to form a co-operative union of tobacco-growers in order that by combination central factories may be established and the best expert advice secured.

Veterinary science is being applied under two divisions: (*a*) Contagious diseases, and (*b*) Bacteriological Laboratory and Experiment Stations. Results of great moment have already been achieved, rinderpest and swine fever having been eradicated altogether, and the cause of Rhodesian redwater, as well as the manner in which it is transmitted, have been carefully worked out. During the year no less than 215,671 animals were inspected at the ports of entrance, 1902 being refused admission, and 1,090 outbreaks of contagious diseases were dealt with within the colony. A division of Chemistry has been inaugurated to investigate problems in agriculture to which this science applies. Under the division of Botany and Agrostology an elaborate series of tests have been made with seeds of almost every kind from different parts of the world. Forestry has not been neglected, and the department created for that purpose raised 1,753,824 trees, sold 921 pounds of seeds, and looks forward during the coming year to greatly extended operations. Insect

diseases are being studied, and the division of Entomology has given much assistance in this connection, one noteworthy point being that in the Waterberg district no less than 250 tons of locusts were destroyed in one swarm by means of the pit and screen method. Horticulture, poultry-farming, horse-breeding, and dairy produce have all received attention, and four experimental farms have been started in various parts of the country.

But possibly the most important of all the agricultural departments created is that of Irrigation. The sinking of boreholes and the construction of small dams to supply water for stock, and to cultivate even small patches of arable land, would be of great benefit, irrespective of the larger consideration of dealing with the rainfall upon some well-organised system. In the Transvaal the rainfall comes, as a rule, in very heavy showers, whose resulting torrents rush down to the sea and do considerable damage in washing away rich alluvial soil. Systematic impounding of these invaluable supplies of water, thus lost to the country, would be of the greatest benefit.

In the opinion of some experts the Transvaal should be regarded as a pastoral and not an agricultural country. Mr Owen Thomas, in his work entitled "Agricultural and Pastoral Prospects of South Africa," says on page 47, "the secret of the future prosperity of South Africa lies in the stock-farming industry": on page 121, he specially recommends South Africa "as a stock-raising country"; on page 212 refers particularly to the Transvaal, which, "like the rest of South Africa, is more suitable for pasturage than for agriculture," and emphasises his opinion again on page 215, "live stock, rather than cereals, is the mainstay of the Transvaal farmer." Judged by the slight knowledge at present available, it would appear that any very definite opinion upon this subject should be

accepted with caution and regarded rather as speculative than authoritative. From recent experience it would seem that the cultivation of small areas, in conjunction with pastoral pursuits upon the major portions of farms, will ultimately prove the most profitable method of utilising land in the Transvaal.

So great are the extremes of cold and heat in the Transvaal winter, and so dried up and unnutritious becomes the grass, that it was the custom among the Boers to remove live stock to the milder climate of the Bush Veld during that season. Authorities tell me that if a little shelter is provided against the cutting wind, and some roots are cultivated and hay made and stored for food, it will not be necessary to leave the High Veld in this manner. In summer the heat is not excessive, and, on account of the dry atmosphere, never oppressive. With a rainfall computed at about 25 inches annually and a soil that is not unproductive, time may see a population established in reasonable proximity to the gold-mines flourishing upon the production of edibles for the consumption of those engaged in working them. Such a change will be no more remarkable to the eyes of future visitors who traverse those almost uninhabited regions now than the change which I have witnessed in the settlement of a large population on the Witwatersrand itself, where in 1886 one had to travel 10 or 15 miles between the wretched hovels in which the Boer farmer supported himself and his family by means of a few sheep and goats, in a state bordering upon destitution.

It is not uncommon to hear complaints about the large expenditure of public funds in connection with agriculture and similar work; but although the advance may be slow and costly, and the sum entailed in placing a settler upon the land may be excessive, gauged by immediate results, there can be no question as to the wisdom of devoting a considerable annual sum to the

development of the land and to the discovery of the various profitable uses to which it can be put, having in view the ultimate and permanent welfare of the colony. Incidentally, it may be noted that the outlay by the Government upon this head to-day benefits the Boer section of the population almost exclusively, though nearly the whole of it is furnished by the mining industry. But no one, having the interest of the country at heart, or having a sound perception of the ultimate welfare of that industry itself, will begrudge an expenditure, which, in all probability, will not only contribute to the lasting prosperity of the colony, but, through the reduction in the cost of commodities, actually promote the welfare of existing industries and tend to the establishment of others for which the country is not yet ripe.

With a limited income the amount available for such purposes, and for the building of roads and extension of railways, is naturally restricted, but one of the great causes of the high cost of living in the Transvaal is the absence of trade between the various districts through which the railway lines pass. The greatest centre of consumption is Johannesburg, and goods for that place, from the seaports, have practically to bear the whole of the working costs and interest charges for which the systems are liable. Since the war the Government has constructed 152½ miles of new lines, which are now open for traffic, and has under construction 403¾ miles, which are expected to be open for traffic shortly. According to the General Manager of Railways' Report for 1904, the expenditure on new lines at the 31st December 1904 amounted to £2,853,733. In addition to the foregoing they have arranged with the De Beers Consolidated Mines (Limited) to finance the building of the new line from Klerksdorp to Fourteen Streams, which they will eventually take over from that Company at cost price, plus a reasonable interest.

Lord Milner did not confine his attention to urgent material requirements, but, conscious of the paramount influence that education would have in the moulding of character and in the moral and substantial well-being of the rising generation, he threw his heart into that complex subject. A large number of teachers were imported to begin the great work in the Concentration Camps, and the Education Department strained every nerve to prevent any break in the tuition of the camp school children, the majority of whom, by the close of 1902, had returned to their farms. The immense work that has been done is perhaps best shown by quoting the following figures:—At the end of 1898 there were open 393 Government schools, with an enrolment of 14,798 scholars. At present there are 405 schools, with an enrolment of 29,750 scholars.

It is not proposed to do more in this chapter than to touch upon one or two important points culled from the Report of the Transvaal Education Department[1] for 1903, the Report for 1904 not being yet available. The first Education Ordinance was passed in February 1903. According to the Report, it is estimated that there were, in the colony, 46,500 children of elementary school age, namely, between four and fourteen, of whom about 16,000 were receiving no education, either in Government or in private schools. The policy of the department appears to have been directed, as far as possible, to winning the approval of the parents in the country districts. In the case of schools where the average attendance exceeds 100, school committees have been established, and in smaller schools quarterly meetings of the parents are held. The powers which are accorded to these committees have been necessarily of a limited nature, and have applied to comparatively small areas to avoid possible interference with the efficiency of the

[1] Transvaal Education Department. Report for the School Year, January to December 1903.

| | |
|---|---|
| Brought forward | £1,806,553 |
| Pumping and maintenance . . . . | 2,587,082 |
| Interest on debentures and overdraft . . | 1,147,822 |
| Value of goods commandeered and missing . | 353,962 |
| Value of gold commandeered and from plates . | 731,924 |
| Loss from plant and property destroyed . . | 288,774 |
| | £6,916,117 |

The hardships, and in many cases the ruin, which fell upon individuals cannot be assessed, but that it was immense is unquestionable. At the time of writing pre-war conditions as to output have been restored, but before the condition of individual prosperity will reach the level of 1899, a considerable expansion in production will be necessary, because both Johannesburg and Pretoria have grown enormously in the interim. In order to demonstrate the truth of this statement it is only necessary to deal with figures relating to Johannesburg. According to the census figures of 1896 the population within a 3-mile radius of the Market Square was 50,507 whites, and 51,571 coloured—a total of 102,078. The census returns for 1904 give for the municipality of Johannesburg 84,113 whites, and 75,904 coloured—total 160,017; between the two dates mentioned the municipal area was increased from 28¼ to 81¾ square miles. But although the town and suburbs have grown considerably in the interval, the difference in the municipal area must not be taken as having any relation to the increase of the Urban population. In 1902 the ratable value of land and of buildings in the municipality was respectively £22,368,993 and £5,074,643, and in 1905 £26,976,390 and £12,420,385. The rise in these figures proclaims the necessity for increased earning power, which at present depends almost entirely upon the gold-mines; and is not met by the somewhat larger amount distributed in salaries and wages paid to white men and natives, and repre-

sented by the stores consumed, which in 1898 aggregated £10,086,215, and in 1903-4 £11,312,270.

Additional evidence that the town and the number of commercial firms have, since the war, grown at a greater rate than the increase of output justified, is furnished by the following figures:—

GOLD PRODUCTION.

WITWATERSRAND AREA.[1]

| | |
|---|---|
| 1897 | £10,583,616 |
| 1898 | 15,141,376 |
| 1903 | 12,146,307 |
| 1904 | 15,520,329 |

TRANSVAAL.[2]

| Year. | Imports. | Exports. |
|---|---|---|
| 1897 | £13,563,827 | No official figures to be had. |
| 1898 | 10,632,895 | |
| 1903 | 19,451,048 | £12,969,912 |
| 1904 | 13,627,377 | 17,770,988 |

The above tables are instructive. In anticipation of a phenomenally rapid increase of the productive power, the imports rose enormously in 1903. This caused a serious commercial depression, which is reflected in the decreased imports of the following year. The gold production explains the cause, and proves the extent to which the whole country is dependent upon it.

The exports for 1904 were made up as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Gold from Witwatersrand | £15,520,329 |
| „ „ other districts | 534,480 |
| Diamonds | 901,745 |
| Wool, hides, and other produce | 814,434 |
| | £17,770,988 |

At the time of writing the influence of Chinese labour is not only being felt in the mining industry, but all

[1] From the Chamber of Mines Returns.

[2] From the Government *Gazette*.

the wholesale and retail traders to whom I have spoken inform me that business has taken a decided turn for the better. There is now every reason to expect a steady rise of output, and a corresponding increase in the weekly distribution of wealth through the medium of wages paid and commodities consumed, and it is safe to assert that the town and population of Johannesburg will expand, the field for commercial activity become wider, and the openings for persons in search of employment increase. But it will take time, and a word of caution is due to all those who might be impatient and hasten there with false hopes, and to whom premature action may spell anxiety, privation, or even disaster.

Before closing this review of the work of reconstruction a few remarks upon the town of Johannesburg as it meets the eye of the traveller to-day, and as it struck me after a very long absence may not be out of place.

Entering the Golden City for the first time, one is struck by the curious spectacle of huge structures upon the American pattern, standing side by side with modest double-storied buildings, and in the immediate vicinity of wood and iron shanties. To the eye of the pioneer it is the mere familiar process of urban evolution. It takes a considerable time to visit the city and the remoter quarters of Jeppe's Town, Doornfontein, and Parktown, where the principal residences are to be found. Parktown has now become the fashionable quarter, and is almost entirely built over. In 1893 there was a solitary house there, situated upon a hill about 2 miles from the centre of Johannesburg, and surveying the rolling plains that end 40 or 50 miles away in the blue chain of the Magaliesberg Hills. In the plain below, the Braamfontein plantation was in its infancy; thirteen years of growth have transformed it into a miniature forest, intersected by numerous rides

for equestrians. Numbers of birds have now taken up their abode in the woods, and it is delightful to listen to their song. One can hardly realise that so short a time ago the treeless veld held sway and not a sound, save perhaps at night the cry of a jackal, disturbed the silence.

The first settlers fortunately planted a vast number of trees, so that Johannesburg and its environs are well wooded. Conjuring up in the mind's eye a picture of the town as it was nine or ten years ago, and comparing it with the panorama from one of the high buildings of to-day, one can realise the extraordinary progress. Many of the large new buildings in the business part, although important as to size and cost, are far from artistic in design. It is to be regretted that in spending large sums care has not always been taken to observe the canons of good taste. The American sky-scraper may be excluded as having no architectural pretensions. That there is no lack of good architects is apparent upon visiting the private houses, of which many, erected since the war, are models of good taste, and built in a substantial manner that betokens an intention on the part of their owners to reside permanently there.[1]

Apart from architectural changes one is struck by the greater cleanliness and order. Roads have been made, and are in process of repair, paved foot-walks and curbstones are putting in an appearance, a well-equipped and expanding system of tramways is working, street lighting has been introduced, and sturdy policemen are numerous, and regulate the traffic with London precision. The population is deeply indebted to the hard-working and intelligent body of men compos-

[1] It would be invidious to discuss the respective merits of architects, but no one will cavil at the mention of the name of Mr Herbert Baker, to whose talent is due much of the beauty of the residential part of the town. This gentleman was a protégé of the late C. J. Rhodes, for whom he carried out many works.

ing the Municipality for these great improvements. The Cape cart which formerly did duty as a cab has disappeared, having been replaced by four-wheeled vehicles, after the style of double-seated Victorias.

Owing to the scarcity of cattle and sheep a large quantity of imported meat is consumed. As the live stock increases the sales of the Cold Storage Company will diminish. Fruit and vegetables are obtainable in abundance, as well as fish (brought up from the coast daily), poultry, and eggs. As an illustration of the remunerative prices that are paid for market garden produce at present, a case may be cited in which twenty-four Portuguese, working upon a farm 6½ miles from Johannesburg, received as their half share of the sales for the month of February £387, 15s. 3d., and for the month of March £226, their expenses having been approximately only £24 a month. In answer to a question put by me as to why Englishmen did not take to vegetable-growing, since it proved so profitable an industry, the agent of the owner upon whose farm these results were obtained replied: "Vegetables are sold at about 8s. 6d. per cwt., and that is about what these Portuguese obtained." "But why do not Englishmen earn these sums?" "Because the Portuguese work at least twelve hours a day, do everything themselves, and never have a Kaffir."[1]

The cost of living is very high, attributable to the enormous rent of premises, to high wages and salaries,

[1] In view of the case cited above I find myself unable altogether to share Mr Owen Thomas's opinion as stated on page 210 of his book: "There is a flourishing industry in vegetable-gardening round Pretoria and Johannesburg; but the margin of profit accruing to the gardeners is very small. If it were not that the Indians and coolies (many of whom use scientific methods) exhibit undeniable skill, it would be quite impossible to raise vegetables at the prices current in these two towns. This industry is almost entirely in the hands of foreigners; and there is little or no prospect, even with double the present demand, of an opening for English settlers. One English-

and to the fact that most things are imported. Gradually, no doubt, a great change in this regard will be brought about through the production locally of many articles of staple consumption. It is rather to South African enterprise than to any reduction in high freights and railway charges that we must look for relief in this direction. The benefit from any reduction of railway rates is limited; the benefit of a development of the internal resources of the country has no visible bounds.

Formerly every shop contained a great variety of goods, now there are special houses for clothing, boots, stationery, etc., etc., as in any other large city. People are much more scrupulous than of yore about their clothes, and the ladies in particular emulate their sisters in the great European cities. In this respect, if one may be critical without offence, one is impelled to remark that, in the choice of materials, sufficient consideration is not always given to the ruinous red dust.

The population is, as of old, active, alert, and intelligent. The magnificent climate of this region, elevated nearly 6,000 feet above the sea level, is a wonderful physical and mental stimulant, and the children born on the Witwatersrand will certainly grow into hardy men and women.

man, who for ten years had been engaged in growing vegetables for the Johannesburg market, told me that he had decided to give up the business and try something else; he had more money when he started than at the moment when he spoke to me. This caused me to visit most of the vegetable gardens near Johannesburg and Pretoria; and what I saw there convinced me that our English settlers cannot hope to compete with the existent gardeners, who have studied vegetable-growing all their lives, and the cost of whose living does not amount to one-half of that of the ordinary English settler."

## CHAPTER II

### THE LABOUR PROBLEM

SCARCITY of manual labour has been a chronic complaint from the early days of the Witwatersrand. The difficulty may be now considered solved.

Engineers and mine managers have introduced every known kind of mechanical contrivance and automatic device to supplement the inadequate supply, and in no part of the world have labour-saving appliances been more earnestly studied, sought, or used. The Native Labour Association, an organisation formed by the mining companies to recruit native labour, came into existence in consequence of the unsatisfactory results obtained by, and the malpractices rampant under, what was known as the touting system. In the following remarks I wish to make it clear that while as a class the touts were undesirable, they numbered among them men of good character and entitled to every respect, who had adopted that calling as a means of gaining an honest living. They were mostly men without any special training, who form in every community a considerable percentage, and who find the avenues of occupation open to them necessarily limited. But I fear that this description is not applicable to the majority working under that pernicious system, which caused a number of white men to haunt the kraals and infest the roads upon which the natives travelled in search of work, with a view to entering into contracts with them, frequently

upon terms which they knew would not be respected, for the purpose of obtaining a premium per head upon handing them over to a *bona fide* employer.

It is unnecessary to dwell at any length upon the immorality and injurious effect of that business, since it is now at an end, but one or two points should be noted to complete a survey of the labour problem. The interest of the tout was obviously in the direction of short contracts; the more often the natives travelled backwards and forwards the better his prospect of capitation fees. Under specious promises of higher wages the Kaffirs were often induced to desert their employer, with no ultimate advantage to themselves, but with profit to the pocket of the ubiquitous tout. Very little, if any, extra labour was brought to the mines, as these men operated upon the beaten track and gathered up mostly the Kaffirs who would have sought work there anyhow. Dissatisfaction was very naturally rife amongst the natives owing to the outrageous swindling of which they were the victims, and not the least imperative reason for the suppression of that nefarious traffic was its demoralising influence upon them and the utter destruction of their confidence in the word of the white man.

In those days, more so even than now, a native worked to secure a definite sum of money. The higher his wages the shorter his stay, and the keen competition which this system created resulted in the most productive mines getting an undue proportion of labour because of their ability to outbid their poorer neighbours. The ill-effect of this was double-edged. It tended to restrict expansion and it militated against the efficiency of the labourer.

Lastly, the control of the labour supply by a body of irresponsible and unscrupulous men whose interests were diametrically opposed to those of the employers, led to much ill-feeling and suspicion among the

managers of mines, who lived in daily dread of desertions on a large scale, who could never calculate with any confidence as to the work they could do, and who, moreover, were told plausible and generally false tales about their professional comrades offering baits to entice their Kaffirs away.

The condition of matters was deplorable, the distrust with which the managers were inoculated spread to the directors, and the union and friendly co-operation between the controllers of the industry, so essential to its welfare, became seriously threatened. Fortunately, these men realised that progress would be stifled unless the existing evils were removed, and after much thought and discussion the Labour Association was organised.

A volume might be devoted to the work of, and the difficulties overcome by, the able men who were charged with the direction of its operations. Some of the more reputable among those engaged in securing labour under the touting system were taken into the service of the Association, but the great bulk of that fraternity found their occupation gone, and threw the whole weight of their influence against the new *régime*. Taken individually the touts had but little power; in the aggregate, however, with their tentacles spread, octopus-like, all over the land, they constituted a factor of some importance, and the fertility of their inventive faculties came into full play. Extraordinary stories were spread among the natives at the kraals and on the roads as to the machinations at work against them.

It was an uphill game at first, but the Association persisted in its plan with ultimate success. Recruiting is now carried on by a number of salaried officers of the Association, stations have been established at various points where travelling natives are provided with food and shelter, the terms of their engagements are clearly specified and adhered to, and their faith in the promises of their white employers is no longer assailed.

Agents were sent to many parts of the great continent, including vast areas across the Zambesi, and even to Uganda and other British possessions north of the equator. A certain number of men were brought down from tropical regions, but proved a failure, owing to the climate of so high an altitude as the Witwatersrand being too rigorous. The mortality amongst those men was appalling, and the idea of securing a supply of labour from such localities has been abandoned.

The native labour supply is drawn from various parts of South Africa, and during the year 1904 was made up as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Inhambane, Gaza, and Lourenço Marques | 27,633 |
| Local, *i.e.*, Boys who apply personally at the mines | 26,924 |
| Transvaal | 11,755 |
| Cape Colony | 10,405 |
| Rhodesia | 2,362 |
| Quilimane and Tete districts | 1,938 |
| Basutoland | 1,781 |
| Bechuanaland | 1,723 |
| Mozambique district | 1,308 |
| British Central Africa Protectorate | 1,190 |
| German South-West Africa | 298 |
| Nyasa Company | 275 |
| Beira and Chinde | 249 |
| Swaziland and Orange River Colony | 52 |
| | 87,893[1] |

Of these 40,902, or nearly one-half, came from Portuguese territory. Seeing that the economic interests of the gold mines are served by securing labour from the localities nearest to them, it is obvious that even the Kaffirs from Portuguese territory are only recruited because the available sources nearer home are inadequate. The same remarks apply to the Chinese,

[1] These figures are taken from the Annual Report of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association for 1904.

who cost more to import and repatriate, even allowing for the length of the contracts which they enter into, than any South African natives. It follows, therefore, that, whenever the increase of native population in South Africa results in sufficient labourers being available in that country, the importation of Asiatic labour will automatically cease.

Peace was proclaimed on 31st May 1902, but the natives evinced no sign of returning to work at the mines in their former numbers. This has been, no doubt, correctly attributed to their having earned large amounts during the period of hostilities, which enabled them to indulge in a lengthy holiday at their kraals, revelling amongst their wives and friends, and talking over their adventures.

As many of the members of the Chamber of Mines were in Cape Town awaiting the conclusion of hostilities, meetings were held, and at one of these it was resolved to lower the average rate of wages from 47s. 1d.[1], the figure before the war, to 30s. per month. The object in view was not merely to reduce working expenses, but to increase the efficiency of the workmen by making it necessary for them to stay longer than they had usually done hitherto, in order to save the amount they desired to accumulate before returning to their kraals. The action of the employers has been severely criticised and condemned, and the subsequent shortage of native labour was by most people attributed to the lowering of the wages.

Whether the members of the Chamber of Mines were well advised or not in the scale adopted at Cape Town, it must be remembered that they were not reducing the wages from the pre-war rates without full consideration, and were actually raising them from the scale prevailing on the Witwatersrand during the war, while many of the mines were worked by the Boers. The scale made legal by the latter, under the

[1] Government Mining Engineer's Report for 1903-4, p. 13.

proclamation dated 9th January 1900,[1] was 20s. per month. The proclamation provided that employers were liable to be fined £5 for any contravention.

Many who know the South African natives are of opinion that the rate of pay has no influence upon the numbers seeking employment. Be that as it may, the situation at the mines became very serious; the ranks of the unemployed white men became swollen to a dangerous extent, and the ruin of the mines and of the whole population loomed large upon the horizon. Something had to be done without delay. Neither the mine-owners nor the people of Johannesburg favoured the introduction of Asiatic labour until all efforts to tap possible sources of supply in South Africa had been exhausted. As a first step, wages were raised to pre-war rates, and a most active recruiting campaign was undertaken, but without success.

Ultimately the Transvaal Government appointed a Labour Commission, which consisted of Sir George Farrar, and Messrs A. Mackie Niven, J. Donaldson, J. C. Brink, Leslie Daniels, S. Evans, David Forbes, G. H. Goch, E. Perrow, J. W. Philip, J. W. Quinn, C. F. Tainton, and P. Whiteside, which sat and took evidence from the 21st July to the 6th October 1903, and finally presented its Report on the 19th November of that year. Briefly stated, the conclusions of the Commission were:—

1. That the demand for native labour for agriculture in the Transvaal is largely in excess of the present supply, and as the development of the country proceeds, this demand will greatly increase.
2. That the demand for native labour for the Transvaal mining industry is in excess of the present supply by about 129,000 labourers, and, whilst no complete data of the future requirements of the whole industry are obtainable, it is estimated that the mines of the Witwatersrand alone will require within the next five years an additional supply of 196,000 labourers.

[1] *Staats Courant*, 10th January 1900.

3. That the demand for native labour for other Transvaal industries, including railways, is greatly in excess of the present supply, and will increase concurrently with the advancement of mining and agriculture.
4. That there is no adequate supply of labour in Central and Southern Africa to meet the above requirements.

The Report was signed by Sir George Farrar, and Messrs Mackie Niven, J. Donaldson, J. C. Brink, W. Leslie Daniels, Samuel Evans, David Forbes, G. H. Goch, E. Perrow, J. W. Philip and C. F. B. Tainton.

The following Minority Report, bearing the signatures of Mr J. W. Quinn and Mr P. Whiteside, was submitted :—

1. That there is sufficient labour in Central and Southern Africa for present requirements, although effort will be required to obtain it.
2. That the present so-called shortage in the Transvaal is largely due to temporary and preventable causes.
3. That understanding future requirements to mean such as, if satisfied, will benefit the country as a whole, we consider there is also sufficient labour in the territories named above for future requirements.
4. That in many ways the supply of native labour can be supplemented and superseded by white labour.

A noteworthy commentary upon the action of these gentlemen was furnished later on by the people of Johannesburg. The urban government had been entrusted to a body nominated by the Goverment until December 1903, when elections took place for the Municipal Council. All the members of the nominated Council were re-elected, with the exception of Mr P. Whiteside, whose defeat was generally attributed to his attitude upon the labour question. Mr Quinn was, however, elected, because, it was urged, his valuable services in other respects out-weighed the unpopular course he pursued in this matter. Since the Chinese have arrived, and have in practice shown that the opinions previously held in regard to them were in-

correct, Mr Quinn has had the honesty and courage to revise his views publicly, and at the inauguration dinner in connection with the Responsible Government Association, on 14th January 1905, he said:—

"With regard to the Chinese question, which your esteemed President alluded to . . . let me ask you to believe me at once when I say that, as far as I am concerned—and I speak not only for myself, but also for others who agree with me—I make no apology, I cannot make any apology, for my past action with regard to the introduction of Chinese into this country. If you expect an apology from me, you are bound to be disappointed; I cannot. Whatever my faults may be—and unfortunately I know they are many—I have always endeavoured to say what I believed to be true at the time; and if to-morrow or the next day I have occasion, from new information or knowledge, to change the views I held last week, I trust I shall be man enough to come forward and say so. As far as I am concerned—please understand I speak for myself—the Chinese are here, the Ordinance is passed, the people appear to be contented, there is no objection raised, and, as far as I am concerned, in any politics I may take part in in the future the question is finished."

The finding of the Labour Commission as to the shortness of the native labour supply has since been corroborated by the Native Affairs Commission 1903-5, which, upon page 76 of its valuable Report, "sees every reason to agree with the finding of the Labour Commission as to the particular questions which engaged its attention." The second Commission, however, approached the matter from another and a wider standpoint, analysing the amount and distribution of population throughout South Africa, and the proportion that may be reasonably considered available for "agricultural, mining, industrial, and domestic work."

The subjoined table, extracted from the Report, though, as the Commissioners state, only an estimate, affords information based upon the calculations of persons having a special knowledge of the subject, accords with the general trend of the evidence, and presents the personal opinions of the Commission:—

| TERRITORY. | Native Population. | ESTIMATE. | | | | | | | DEMAND. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | SUPPLY. | | | |
| | | Males over 15 = one-quarter of Population. | Married men = one-seventh of Population. | Unmarried men over 15. | Males between 15 and 40 = one-fifth of Population. | Number of married men who may be expected to be at work at any one time = one-third of total married men. | Number of unmarried men who may be expected to be at work at any one time = one-half of total unmarried men. | Total number of males who may be expected to be at work at any one time. | Estimated number required. |
| CAPE COLONY . . . | 1,424,787 | 356,197 | 203,541 | 152,656 | 284,957 | 67,847 | 76,328 | 144,175 | 253,000* |
| NATAL . . . . . | 904,041 | 226,010 | 129,150 | 96,860 | 180,808 | 43,050 | 48,430 | 91,480 | 65,000 |
| TRANSVAAL (including SWAZILAND) . . | 896,284 | 224,071 | 128,040 | 96,031 | 179,257 | 42,680 | 48,015 | 90,695 | 374,000 |
| (Labourers temporarily resident) | (*a*) 133,745 | | | | | | | | |
| ORANGE RIVER COLONY . | 235,466 | 58,867 | 33,638 | 25,229 | 47,093 | 11,213 | 12,614 | 23,827 | 60,000 |
| SOUTHERN RHODESIA . . | 570,830 | 142,707 | 81,547 | 61,160 | 114,165 | 27,182 | 30,580 | 57,762 | 25,000 |
| (Labourers temporarily resident) | (*a*) 20,367 | | | | | | | | |
| BASUTOLAND . . . | 347,731 | 86,933 | 49,676 | 37,257 | 69,546 | 16,558 | 18,628 | 35,186 | 2,000 |
| BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE . . | 119,411 | 29,853 | 17,060 | 12,793 | 23,900 | 5,687 | 6,396 | 12,083 | 3,000 |
| TOTALS . | 4,652,662 | 1,124,638 | 642,652 | 481,986 | 899,726 | 214,217 | 240,991 | 455,208 | 782,000 |
| | | | | | 38,528 | | | 19,264 | |
| | | | | | 938,254 | | | 474,472 | 474,472 |

(*a*) Of these 154,112, 25% only is estimated to be British South Africa Natives.

It will be seen that 474,472 natives were estimated as available, or "50·6 per cent. of the total male population between the ages of fifteen and forty."

The Report points out that the South African native is not a continuous worker, and engages for from three to six months at the mines, but for longer periods as an agricultural labourer. With a short-fall assessed at 307,528 labourers, the Commission concludes that "there is no doubt that, were these natives alone to be relied upon, South African industries could at present only be worked at half power." Quoting from the latest Report of the Government Mining Engineer of the Transvaal, they note that "of the natives employed in mines there, only 15 per cent. were British Africans."

Many causes have produced this situation, one being that "one-half of the native population lives on reserves," the bulk of whom "occupy land for the most part communally and free of charge, except hut or poll-tax, upon which it is possible for them, in some fashion or other, to make a living as agriculturists or peasant-proprietors without the necessity, excepting in exceptionally bad seasons, of earning wages." The same description applies to natives who pay rent for private or Crown land, and wage-earning is only resorted to as a means of supplementing their incomes, and not as an urgent necessity.

After giving their opinion that the "importation of foreign labour" was, though deplorable, "absolutely necessary," the Commissioners consider the question of other remedies, particularly the steps that should be taken to stimulate the industry of the natives, and offer a number of recommendations aiming at their advancement and welfare, as well as the promotion of South African development. They suggest the encouragement of native women, under safeguards, to enter domestic service, now undertaken by men, as one result of which

"the introduction into native domestic life of higher standards of comfort, cleanliness and order" may be reasonably hoped for. They conclude this section of their Report by advising the establishment of labour locations wherever practicable for the accommodation of natives and their families near the scene of employment.

This recommendation opens up a serious question connected with native locations and land tenure which has only an indirect bearing upon the subject of this chapter. Assuming that it be ultimately decided to establish a large number of native families upon land near to the mines, the effect upon the labour supply would only manifest itself in many years as the result of a gradual increase of the adult male population.

The situation, however, that had to be met at the time of the Report, was one demanding immediate relief.

The pinch of poverty was keenly felt in Johannesburg, where a large white population had gathered in expectation of normal conditions being speedily re-established after the war. The weekly distribution of wealth through the medium of wages and consumption of commodities proved, in consequences of the shortness of black labour, totally insufficient for its sustenance. The party in favour of importing Asiatics, under certain restrictions, rapidly grew in strength, and it soon became evident that an overwhelming majority of the people realised the urgent necessity for this step.

With a view to brevity, I will summarise, in chronological order, the meetings held and the resolutions passed in support of this measure.

The need of importation of labour was first brought into public prominence by Sir G. Farrar, who addressed a mass meeting of his employees on the East Rand Proprietary Mines at Driefontein on the 31st March

1903. This was followed immediately by an anti-Chinese meeting at the Wanderers, Johannesburg, where a resolution to prohibit the introduction of Asiatics was passed by 5,000 votes to 2. From this time the burning question was debated everywhere. Many of the leading inhabitants of Johannesburg met and sent a deputation, including such men as Sir George Farrar, Sir Percy FitzPatrick and Mr A. S. Raitt, to Lord Milner to ask for the appointment of a Commission,[1] which should enquire into the labour question. Meetings took place along the Reef from Boksburg to Krugersdorp.[2] At Heidelberg,[3] Klerksdorp[4] and Potchefstroom,[5] where many Dutchmen were present, resolutions were passed in favour of the importation; Standerton[6] was also in agreement. At a meeting of scientists,[7] representing the South African Association of Engineers, the Metallurgical and Mining Society of South Africa, the Mechanical Engineers of the Witwatersrand, the Geological Society of South Africa, the Transvaal Medical Society, the Transvaal Pharmaceutical Society, the Transvaal Dental Society, the Institute of Mining Surveyors, the Institute of Land Surveyors, the Institute of Accountants and Auditors and the South African Society of Electrical Engineers, the opinion in favour was unanimous; the Stock Exchange[8] met and demanded the importation; the Chamber of Trade[9] voted in its favour; the Witwatersrand Church Council,[10] representing the Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan denominations, passed a resolution to be cabled to the London Press deprecating the action taken by the Evangelical Free Churches of England and Ireland; the Chamber

[1] 13th June 1903.
[2] Between July and October 1903.
[3] 20th August 1903.
[4] 27th August 1903.
[5] 15th September 1903.
[6] 26th September 1903.
[7] 4th October 1903.
[8] 8th December 1903.
[9] 4th December 1903.
[10] 5th March 1904.

of Commerce[1] by a large majority rescinded its adverse vote of some months before; and, finally, a deputation[2] of twenty-seven public bodies, including the Municipality of Johannesburg, the Municipality of Germiston, the Municipality of Boksburg, the Springs Urban District Board, the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, the Boksburg Chamber of Commerce, the Johannesburg Chamber of Trade, the Witwatersrand Licensed Victuallers Association, the Boksburg Licensed Victuallers Association, the South African Association of Engineers, the Chemical and Metallurgical Society, the Association of Mechanical Engineers, the Mine Surveyors Association, the Geological Society, the Association of Accountants and Auditors, the Chartered Accountants Association, the Architects Association, the Association of Land Surveyors, the Institute of Chartered Accountants, the Transvaal Land Owners Association, the Rand Pioneers, the East Rand Vigilance Association, Springs Section, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, the Association of Mine Managers, a Germiston Public Meeting, the Salvation Army, the Johannesburg Cabmen's Union and the Builders and Contractors, waited on Lord Milner and urged the absolute necessity of Chinese labour.

In the meantime the opponents of the measure were also busy, but, with a very few exceptions, their ranks were destitute of men of weight and position, being composed chiefly of professional agitators, supported by a certain number of miners and artisans, many of whom had been led to believe that the advent of the Chinaman would involve their own dismissal, and also the smaller trades-people, who were influenced by the statement that the Chinaman was a miser, and carried all his earnings back to his own country. Their overwhelming majorities in the early days of the agitation gradually shrank away, and after October 1903 they held no more public

[1] 15th December 1903. [2] 10th March 1904.

meetings, with one exception, when in December[1] they hastily summoned a mass meeting to make a final protest. The audience, however, consisted chiefly of their opponents, and their speakers were not heard, unanimous votes in favour of importation being passed at two large overflow meetings held outside the hall.

In consequence of the proved desires of the people, and the grievous financial position of the entire country, the Government introduced the Labour Importation Ordinance, which passed the Legislature by twenty-two votes to four on the 30th December 1903. The enactment embodied provisions for the protection of the whole community, and at the same time contained proper safeguards for the labourers. In the Transvaal it met with approval; in fact, its passage may be said to have been marked by a sigh of relief. The rest of South Africa did not feel greatly interested. Natal approved, the Cape Colony dissented, but its opposition was of a lukewarm character, and was prompted by local political considerations. Elections were being held there at the time, and the native vote had to be reckoned with.

The great bulk of the population of Johannesburg, which was indeed the only place affected, and therefore entitled to the first consideration, having satisfied itself that every reasonable expedient to avert the necessity for labour importation had been tried without success, had made its desires known beyond doubt. The Boers preserved their wonted policy of aloofness, though a few well-known men among them stated they were against the measure. The solicitude which these gentlemen have affected in some of their speeches for the white working man and for the Kaffir does not afford a satisfactory explanation, nor can their objection to the Ordinance be accepted as based upon any high-minded repugnance to its provisions, their estimation of anything in the shape of "colour" being too well known.

[1] 14th December 1903.

Self-interest would seem likely to have enlisted their support of the measure, because an ample supply or a surfeit of manual labour at the mines would tend to release hands for husbandry. The actual cause for their expressed antagonism to the measure must be sought in another direction, and may include either or all of the following explanations:—

(*a*) The expansion of the mining industry means an increase of white settlers, and a consequent increase of votes on the British side.

(*b*) An anti-Chinese policy conforms with that of the party in British politics from whom they expect much some day.

(*c*) The transparent insincerity of their attitude would not, they must have been aware, result in a reversal of legislation. As a matter of fact, they made little outcry until the success of the measure was assured, and then they endeavoured to gain what credit they could by affecting an opposition to it on high grounds of morality and public policy.

A certain number of Colonials of British descent share the Boer antipathy to the native, and would, if they had the power, adopt drastic measures for forcing him to work. These men naturally objected to importing labour. Another insignificant section of the population opposed the Ordinance on the ground that the deficiency could be met by employing white men as unskilled labourers. Exhaustive experiments to that end were tried, and proved a failure, but this did not convince the enthusiasts, who started a campaign that did more credit to their zeal than to their intelligence.

The strength of the position, so far as the appeal to popular prejudices goes, was all in favour of the opponents of the measure; the facts of the case, as we shall see, entirely against them. The people of England were primed with tales of designs on the part of wicked capitalists to oppress the white man and to enslave the

yellow, and it is not remarkable that they fell victims to these insidious appeals. The agitation was directed not only to the ignorant classes, but was prosecuted with such vigour, and the representations were made in such a plausible guise, that a certain number of enlightened and public-spirited people were captured. The mischievous aspect of the case was accentuated by the action of the Liberal party in seizing upon the Ordinance as a valuable party weapon, and from that moment reason and decency ceased to reign. It was even rumoured that politicians, who in private admitted that the measure was necessary, did not scruple to denounce it in public with all the unction of the moralist; but, for the credit of English public life, it is to be hoped that rumour has spoken falsely. The Government was in grave danger of defeat in consequence of their advising the King not to exercise his prerogative of veto. The violence of the partisan spirit aroused upon a question which at most was only of indirect interest to the people of Great Britain would have been impossible but for the two powerful allies, party purpose and popular prejudice! These elements supplied dry fuel to the political conflagration, a parallel for the magnitude of which has to be sought in such questions as the Repeal of the Corn Laws or the Irish Home Rule Bill, in which the people were directly and vitally concerned.

So much has already been written and spoken upon the subject that I am reluctant to attack it again, but a brief review is essential. Upon the cessation of hostilities the disbanded irregulars and the refugees flocked back as rapidly as the issuer of permits and the transport service permitted, and on 31st December 1902 the population of the Witwatersrand was estimated at 98,000 white people and 104,000 natives and coloured people.[1] At the mines there were employed 9,878 whites

[1] Transvaal Administration Report for 1904.

and 37,410 blacks. The following table[1] shows the number of men employed in the mines of the Rand from 1st January 1903 to 30th June 1904, when the first shipment of Chinamen arrived :—

| Year. | Month. | Whites. | Coloured. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1903 | January | 10,327 | 43,727 |
| „ | February | 10,390 | 46,919 |
| „ | March | 10,658 | 51,479 |
| „ | April | 10,768 | 54,983 |
| „ | May | 10,854 | 58,531 |
| „ | June | 11,187 | 60,200 |
| „ | July | 11,208 | 61,906 |
| „ | August | 11,449 | 63,382 |
| „ | September | 11,805 | 64,089 |
| „ | October | 11,812 | 65,775 |
| „ | November | 12,104 | 66,643 |
| „ | December | 12,044 | 67,061 |
| 1904 | January | 12,118 | 67,994 |
| „ | February | 12,094 | 70,714 |
| „ | March | 11,991 | 72,608 |
| „ | April | 12,039 | 72,011 |
| „ | May | 12,414 | 70,608 |
| „ | June | 12,730 | 68,174 |

It may be well at once to bring this table up to date :—

| | | | Coloured. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year. | Month. | Whites. | Natives and others. | Chinese. |
| 1904 | July | 12,894 | 67,187 | 1,388 |
| „ | August | 13,587 | 67,138 | 4,945 |
| „ | September | 13,644 | 69,587 | 9,020 |
| „ | October | 13,734 | 72,425 | 12,965 |
| „ | November | 14,074 | 75,347 | 17,469 |
| „ | December | 14,166 | 77,209 | 20,885 |
| 1905 | January | 14,873 | 82,847 | 27,222 |
| „ | February | 15,162 | 90,168 | 31,424 |
| „ | March | 15,527 | 96,735 | 34,335 |
| „ | April | 15,516 | 98,598 | 35,575 |
| „ | May | 15,888 | 97,310 | 38,111 |
| „ | June | 16,158 | 95,309 | 41,340 |

[1] All these figures are from the Report of the Government Mining Engineer.

A remarkable feature about the above statistics is that, since the advent of the Chinese, the natives have been coming in in greatly increasing numbers. Many reasons have been assigned for this sudden change, the most correct of which probably are—

(1) The accumulated savings during the war, when their services with the troops were highly paid, have been spent;
(2) The failure of crops in native territories;
(3) The retrenchment by Government, owing to dwindling revenues, resulting in the stoppage of public works;
(4) The realisation by the native that he is not indispensable and can be replaced.

During the year 1898, which is the latest year before the war for which I can get reliable figures, there were employed, on the average, 9,854 white men to 73,354 black, or in the proportion of 1 to 7·44. In July 1899, according to the Labour Commission Report, there were 12,530 whites and 91,139 blacks, or a proportion of 1 to 7·27. During the intervening years the relative proportions have been[1]—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1902 . . . . . | 1 to 3·91 |
| 1903 . . . . . | 1 to 5·23 |
| 1904 . . . . . | 1 to 5·90 |
| 1905 (first six months) . . . . | 1 to 8·25 |

The higher percentage of white men to black is attributable to their having been retained in their positions in the hope that the inadequacy of the native labour supply would be made up, as well as to a certain

[1] With reference to the above, the figures for 1898, 1902, and later are taken from the Reports of the Government Mining Engineer, and are worked out on the basis of the average number during the year in each class.

For July 1899 the Chamber of Mines returns a figure of 96,704, which would make the proportion 1 to 7·71; whereas Mr Webb, the Consolidated Goldfields Consulting Engineer, estimated the number at 111,697, which would make the proportion 1 to 8·91.

number of disbanded irregulars and other white men in distress having actually, for a short period, undertaken manual work. It will be seen that, during the first six months of the present year, pre-war conditions as to the respective number of whites and blacks have been approximately reached.

The unsatisfactory position in which the commercial community and population generally of the Witwatersrand was placed owing to the shortness of hand labour is best illustrated by a few statistics. In the year 1898, the last full year before the war, there were employed by the mining industry an average of 9,854 whites and 73,354 blacks, whose labour resulted in the production of gold to the value of £15,141,376.[1] No official figures are obtainable as to the total population then, but it certainly amounted to less than 200,000. According to the census returns for 1904, approximately at the date when the first Chinese came to the rescue, the population had grown to 259,070[2] while the gold production for that year only amounted to £12,146,307.[1] As the production of gold must of necessity bear a close relation to the amount distributable between the traders and general population in the course of winning it, the effect of the lower productive power becomes evident.

But the trouble did not end in there merely being less wealth to distribute. Anticipating the steady restoration of the one great industry of the Transvaal to at least a pre-war level, and reckoning upon a great expansion, the merchants imported far greater quantities of goods than the consumption warranted. The total imports[3] of the Transvaal during 1898 amounted to £10,632,895, and during 1903 they rose to £19,451,048. This excessive importation was reflected in the Customs and Railway Returns, and caused sanguine hopes to be

[1] Chamber of Mines.
[2] Official Census Returns for 1904.
[3] These figures are taken from the Government *Gazette*.

expressed about the Budget; but the year 1904 saw a rude awakening, the imports falling to £13,627,377, with a corresponding shrinkage of the revenue and ultra-doleful prognostications about the financial condition of the Colony.

No profound mathematical mind is required to glean from this testimony the distress that must have visited the district at that time, and it was not surprising, in the face of this alarming outlook, that the Government and the people realised that a prompt remedy must be applied to avert disaster. The fullest enquiry had been instituted, and only one solution of the problem was possible. The British Government, fully apprised of all that had taken place, adopted the only possible course consonant with the obligations of their office in advising His Majesty not to veto the Act of the Transvaal Legislature. When passions have cooled, and history looks back upon the action of Mr Balfour's Ministry in this connection, the verdict will be one of unqualified admiration for their courage and devotion to duty. The temptation to pander to popular cries is one of the most dangerous and seductive that the members of a Government are called upon to resist, and when they cast it aside their conduct deserves the highest acknowledgment.

Let us digress for a moment to look at the motives of the Imperial Government. No sensible person will charge them with being in league with the mine-owners, and if that absurd suggestion be dismissed, then their policy must have been guided either by unpardonable ignorance or gross incapacity on the one hand, or a true appreciation of the situation and ample justification on the other! It will not be suggested that, in refraining from exercising the right of veto, they were actuated by the hope of party gain. They could not have been oblivious of the unpopularity of the measure, the sanctioning of which—if *non-veto* can be so construed—

not only provided their opponents with a formidable weapon of attack, but actually caused the secession of a few of their own followers.

Among those who opposed the measure were a few who are entitled to every respect. They belong to a school of idealists that abhors any form of indentured labour, that looks askance at the settlement of white people in lands occupied by blacks, and that would, upon that principle, have left North America to the Red Indians or Australia to the aborigines. Viewed ethically their position would be highly admirable but for one grave fallacy; and when later the native problem comes under review, in its higher aspects, it will be demonstrated that, if mankind were governed by a code of that order, progress and civilisation would become stationary, and the spread of morality would cease. The cruelty of nature in her gradual improvement of species is unfortunately the index to all advancement.

The true issues have been so obscured by wilful misrepresentation and fertile invention on the part of those who seized upon the Chinese question as a possible means of defeating the Government, that the correct perspective has been lost. To deal fully with the case must involve the repetition of points that have been made before, but I will discuss the matter as concisely as is consistent with thoroughness.

In taking over the Transvaal the British Government made itself the possessor of certain assets and responsible for certain liabilities, and accepted, moreover, serious obligations to the British, the Dutch, the native inhabitants, and to the people of Great Britain. The 21,942 lives lost and the £222,974,000[1] expended upon the conquest of the two Republics were not sacrificed with an eye to gain, but, as the direct result of Mr Kruger's ultimatum, to vindicate the rights of British

[1] Whitaker.

subjects, and to sustain the Imperial position and prestige in South Africa.

But having annexed these countries at such an immense cost in blood and treasure, it behoved the Government to turn their acquisition to the best advantage, not alone for the people of the new Colonies, but for the benefit of the whole Empire. The stagnant condition of the mining industry spelt ruin to the Transvaal in particular, and a general distress and cessation of progress in South Africa, besides the contraction of the outlet for British trade and British emigration.

The settlement of a larger British population in South Africa is all-important, alike from an industrial and a political standpoint. The greater the consumption of commodities the greater incentive to local producers, and the greater field for British enterprise. The more the resources of the country are developed, the keener the activity, and the more is the example of European energy presented to the native eye. Nothing can tend more to the advancement of civilisation than the gradual education of the natives to the advantages of labour, and to the wants that are bred of a growing familiarity with the habits of the white man, and his ideals of conduct.

How was all this to be accomplished? Obviously by securing more manual labour. What kind of labour would serve the purpose, and where could it be secured? The answer to this question demands an examination of the financial side of the problem.

During 1904 the mines of the Witwatersrand worked 8,063,577 tons of reef, producing 3,648,254 ozs. of gold, worth £15,496,798. The cost of working was £9,824,133, leaving a gross profit of £5,672,665, or 14s. 0·8d. per ton. The amount paid in dividends was £3,877,623. The total sum paid in wages amounted to £5,993,135, being 61·004 per cent. of the total cost of working, of

From an article in the *Transvaal Leader* on the meeting of the General Mining and Finance Corporation, Limited, the following is extracted from the Report of Mr G. A. Denny, who is Consulting Engineer to that Corporation :—

"The initial difficulty in the experiment lay in the fact that the white and coloured labourers were necessarily thrown together in common tasks, and the white men soon expressed their feelings of degradation in associating with coloured labourers, and ceased work. Other men who took their places followed their example in a short time, so that the average time worked was less than a week." There can be no getting away from the fact, said Mr Denny, that "no industry can progress which has only apprentices at work, and for the shortest periods." Further than this, "the cost of operating at the losses entailed would ruin any industry." Thus, quite apart from the high cost of unskilled labour, the mines of the Albu group pay just under £20 per month, in addition to quarters, or quite double the sum paid in settled mining centres in Australia for skilled workers. Rand mines are not rich proportionately to the high costs, and are compelled to suit their industrial circumstances to the margins of profit inherent to the proposition. The white labour experiment proved very costly, and was quite abortive. Only the richest mines could stand the heavily-increased cost, even for a time, whilst the average mine could show no profits on working.

Numbers of other authorities upon the subject can be quoted, but it seems to me that it is needless to pursue this part of the subject further. Before concluding, however, it may be well to incorporate a few lines from the Report of the Government Mining Engineer :—[1]

UNSKILLED WHITE LABOUR.

The employment of unskilled whites has had a fair trial, and has, generally speaking, proved unsatisfactory. At present this

subject, which I give in full, as that mine has often been mentioned in connection with the employment of white unskilled labourers.

[1] Transvaal Mines Department. Annual Report of the Government Mining Engineer for the year ending 30th June 1904.

class of labour is only employed when work has to be done, and coloured labour cannot be obtained. The advantages and disadvantages of unskilled white labour are as follows:—

*Advantages.*

1. The good men soon rise to a better class of work, and supply any shortage of skilled labour that may exist.
2. Work can be carried on which otherwise would have to stand over, owing to the shortage of coloured labour.

*Disadvantages.*

1. This class of whites cannot be relied upon to work for any continuous length of time. They throw up their employment at short notice, and disorganise the general work of the mine.
2. The majority take to this employment as a stop-gap, and cannot, or will not, do the necessary amount of steady work to successfully compete with coloured labour.

It is obvious that a great industry could not be carried on with such erratic labourers as the few white men who undertook to do black men's work proved themselves to be. Setting aside, however, the experience that has been gained in this connection, and assuming, for the sake of argument, that it would be possible to secure a white manual labour supply, it is worth while to consider the general effect of such a policy. It has already been shown that the average wages paid to white men, excluding the managers, surveying and clerical staff at the mines, amounts to £295 per annum. In addition to the wages, it is the practice to provide most of the employees with lodgings at rentals that pay a bare interest upon outlay, as well as with fuel at cost price and light at a nominal charge; and in spite of the high wages and the other advantages enumerated, artisans with families are able to support them in a style only slightly better than that prevailing in England. This being the case, it is clear that white men earning only half that sum per annum could not

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support wives and families, unless their manner of living was reduced to a very inferior level. They would become, in fact, a very inferior class, degraded in the eyes of the Kaffir to the level of what in America is called "poor white trash."

Seeing that it is of paramount importance to maintain the prestige of the white man in the estimation of the native, incalculable harm would result from such a proceeding, and every well-wisher of South Africa, who has any knowledge of the native question, will agree as to the advisability of sustaining what may be fairly described as an aristocracy of white over black labour.

The political opponents of Chinese labour in England make a practice of girding at the mine-owners as the opponents of the British workman, and as a self-seeking class anxious to employ slave labour. It does not seem to have occurred to them that, if this were truly the case, the employers might, when the hubbub about the importation of Asiatics was at its highest, have secured a number of men from Scandinavia, Italy, Portugal and other countries in Europe, who would have been ready to engage under contracts at wages only slightly, if at all, in excess of those paid to Chinamen. From them there could have been gradually drawn, no doubt, men who would have displaced the highly-paid skilled men of to-day, with the possible result that the final working costs would have been lower than they are under the present system. Large numbers of Europeans were offered to them under contract at incredibly low rates of pay, and the only reason that they steadfastly refrained from making an experiment in that direction was that they desired to see the Transvaal developed upon lines which they considered consistent with the true prosperity of the country, in accordance with which the white and black men respectively are kept in their proper spheres.

Upon the Witwatersrand the great bulk of the white working population does not give expression to its feelings. A few professional agitators, not in any sense representative of the working classes, endeavour to stir up strife, and supply matter which from time to time appears in certain English journals, and is noted rather for its sensational character than its veracity. As a matter of fact, in no part of the world are the interests of the white workman more sedulously studied than they are upon the Witwatersrand, nor are the relations between him and his employers anywhere of a more cordial nature.

But it is not only in relation to the black man that it is desirable to preserve a standard of comfort for the white man engaged in the mining industry. In the early days of the industry nearly all the married workmen and miners left their families in England. This was partly due to the high cost of living and absence of accommodation for them on the mines, and partly caused by there being no means of educating their children in the Transvaal. Now that the country has become a British colony, and a sound education is being provided free for the children of artisans, the Companies are, as rapidly as possible, building houses for their married workmen, who are, in increasing numbers, getting their families out. Their children will be brought up and educated in the Transvaal, and will form a valuable addition to the much-needed British element in the permanent population of the future. Were it therefore economically possible to employ white men as manual labourers, the result would probably manifest itself in a growing increase of European population, drawn from countries where the stress of life is so severe that the male inhabitants, in order to escape from the privations of their own land, would be content to do what is regarded in South Africa as inferior labour upon a footing of equality with the

native races. It is manifest from the evidence already accumulated that British labourers are not disposed to occupy that position.

Yet another objection to the employment of unskilled white labourers to supplement the supply of Kaffirs lies in the far-reaching effect it would have upon the skilled workmen and overseers. Kaffirs and Chinese accept manual labour as their natural field, and have no idea of supplanting the men in enjoyment of superior positions. With white men an entirely different condition would arise, and every labourer would aspire to the higher positions, and endeavour to attain sufficient proficiency to fill them at a rate of pay lower than that ruling for such services, because it would anyhow be a rise from his then existing position. If it is true that it is economically impossible to employ white men only for all classes of labour—and this is generally admitted even by our opponents—then the most necessary barrier between the status of the skilled white overseer and the unskilled black workmen would gradually be broken down by competition from the ranks of unskilled whites, which could only tend to lower the general level of the skilled classes.

To some of my readers this argument may appear very dangerous, as tending to show a desire on the part of the mine-owners to prevent an unskilled workman from creating a career by his own industry and enterprise. I readily admit that if it were possible to run the mines by white labour only, such an attitude would be in the highest degree short-sighted and impolitic. But remember that we are dealing with very special conditions. I have already given my reasons for believing that a large proportion of unskilled coloured labour will always be necessary on economic grounds. This being so, it is essential to keep the prestige of the white proportion unimpaired, and the readiest way

to ruin it would be to allow white men first of all to start on the same basis as the black worker, and then, by unrestricted competition, to pull down their superiors to something more near the unskilled level.

It is difficult to bring home to the mind of the English reader the changed point of view common to every white man who resides in a country where manual work is done by coloured races. In South Africa it is customary for the artisan to have one or two black men in attendance to carry his tools, to hand them to him as required, and generally to do as much of the heavy work as possible under his direction. This fact is mentioned merely to illustrate the relations which have been, by custom, established between the races, and it is in itself sufficient to explain the degradation that a white man considers himself to suffer if he is deprived of the power "to order his nigger about," and can be pointed at as performing the same class of duty, and therefore, in the esteem of the native, working upon a footing of equality.

Before concluding this chapter it may be well to sum up the conclusions:—

1. Manual labour in South Africa is the best means of educating the native to habits of industry.
2. It is economically impossible to employ white men in that capacity.
3. Apart from economic conditions, the white man will not do manual labour except for the shortest of periods and under the stress of dire necessity.
4. If he would do so, it would have a deplorable effect upon the status of skilled artisan and overseer.
5. The maintenance of the plane upon which the white man lives, as compared with the Kaffir, is essential from the point of view of his prestige and from the standpoint of his children, the British colonists of the future.

# CHAPTER III

## THE MINING INDUSTRY

GOLD-MINING has usually been regarded as a gambling business, and before the discovery of the Witwatersrand it is not surprising that this should have been the case. Quartz-mining is proverbially hazardous, and great fissure veins that have given enormous returns have with but little warning ceased to yield the precious metal in payable quantities. It has become customary, therefore, to value them strictly upon the amount of ore in sight, because the element of uncertainty as to what the next level in depth might disclose has rendered a calculation upon any other basis purely speculative. Rich alluvial fields have in some instances maintained a comparatively consistent yield, and the extent and thickness of the deposits have often been ascertained with some precision; but the claims from which great riches have been extracted, in the shape of nuggets, have generally offered no indications by which their metallic contents could be approximately estimated. The very precarious nature of the ventures has, not unnaturally, caused gold-mining to be regarded rather as a game of chance than as a serious industry, and it is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the steady-going members of the commercial world have looked askance at business of this character.

The discovery of gold in the sedimentary deposits of the Witwatersrand has justly revolutionised opinion

upon this subject, and their development has demonstrated that the conglomerate beds are as reliable in their persistency as coal measures, and are, taken over a large area, as consistent in their contents of the precious metal as is a wheat crop in its yield of grain. A great many theories have been advanced as to how the finely-divided particles of gold were deposited. No scientific proof has been, up to the present, adduced to explain all the phenomena. Certain facts are not disputed in relation to the formation of the beds, which consist of quartz pebbles varying in size, roughly, from hens' eggs to peas, cemented together with detritus, due to attrition, and partly with sand and with iron pyrites.

In order to create a mental picture of the Witwatersrand in the making, we must imagine an inland sea in which were deposited through the ages, and by various agencies, layers of sand, layers of quartz pebbles, further layers of sand and further layers of quartz pebbles, until we have the various strata as they exist to-day, but lying then at a very low angle from the horizontal position. Then came trouble from the lower regions, and a gigantic disturbance took place. All these beds were suddenly hoisted from their position of horizontal repose to an inclined position, in some cases descending from the surface into the earth almost vertically, and in other cases at a very gentle angle from the north in a southerly direction. The "strike," or the direction in which the outcrop of the beds can be traced upon the surface, is in an easterly and westerly direction. Evidence of the colossal force exercised when this disturbance took place is furnished by a great number of what are technically known as diorite dykes, by which the formation is intersected, not only laterally, but diagonally, and at right angles to the "strike."

A not improbable theory is that, at the time these

igneous intrusions were forced through to the surface in a molten state, they were accompanied, or, before having entirely cooled, were followed, by a solution containing the gold in a liquid form. This solution would have consisted of gold probably chemically combined, possibly mechanically mixed, with some other constituents, and in flowing through the then permeable conglomerate beds came into contact with something which had a greater affinity for the gold than the substances with which it was associated, and in consequence it separated from the materials with which it had travelled, and became deposited in a crystalline form where it is now found. Man has not been permitted, as yet, to peer into Nature's laboratory; but chemical science has demonstrated that changes are continually taking place, owing to the greater affinity of a given substance for another than for the substance with which it is associated at the time of contact, and when we arrive at a description of the chemical processes used in extracting the gold we shall find the demonstration of this truth.

The serious development of the mines began in the year 1887-1888, and at that time many of the first experts in the world hesitated to venture an opinion as to the permanency of that marvellous region, because the deposition of the metal was in a form previously unknown in mining experience.

I do not propose to carry the reader through all the stages of early development, and all the fears that were expressed at that time as to the risk involved in attacking the unknown formation—which, by the light of the knowledge of to-day, appear comical and absurd. I will describe a gold mine, and the enormous capital outlay, skill and labour entailed in working it, for the benefit of those persons who are ignorant of the subject, and who still possibly entertain the ridiculous idea that greedy capitalists employ hordes of persons to look

for nuggets, or that the gold mines which form the backbone of South African prosperity are gambling ventures, instead of being what they really are — a reliable, industrial asset.

Let the reader picture the twopenny tube, with which most people are now familiar, and if he regards the lift, say at Oxford Circus, as being one shaft, and the lift at Tottenham Court Road as the second shaft, with the connecting tunnel below, continued for a distance of, say, 1,000 feet beyond either lift, he will have the first level of a gold mine. The ore body does not proceed vertically downwards but at varying angles of inclination, and subsidiary connections are necessary for the purpose of bringing the ore to the shaft. It is needless to describe in detail the purpose of winzes, rises, stopes, etc., etc., because to the initiated it would be superfluous, and to the uninitiated neither interesting nor intelligible. Suffice it to say, that every 100 feet of ore extracted involves the further sinking of the shafts to the next level, and a similar connecting tunnel with its extensions, as well as subsidiary communications by means of winzes and rises following the reef between the levels, before the deeper 100 feet can be attacked.

With this picture clearly in our minds, we have but to realise that the beds have been now proved a lateral distance of 61½ miles, in a more or less continuous line —from Randfontein on the west to Holfontein on the east — and that they will be worked to a vertical depth of at least 4,000 or 5,000 feet, to appreciate the stupendous preparatory underground work that will have to be performed before the ore within these limits has been extracted.

Besides the preparatory work, every ton of ore that is brought to the surface has had to be mined, involving blasting operations, following upon rock-drilling by machines or by hand, has had to be loaded into trucks and transported by tramway to the bottom of the shaft,

and transferred into the skip or cage in which it is hoisted to the surface. The truck-load of ore, as it comes to the surface, consists of a certain amount of fine material, but is composed chiefly of lumps, the larger of which weigh as much as a man can conveniently handle.

We will follow this truck-load into the mill. It is hoisted to a height considerably above the surface level, and is there tipped upon a grating, which permits everything smaller than, say, 1½ inches to pass through. The larger pieces fall automatically upon revolving tables or travelling belts, around which stand a number of men whose duty it is to take out by hand pieces of waste rock which cannot be separated from the ore underground, but which are eliminated at this stage of the operations. The ore then falls automatically into stone-breakers, which reduce it approximately to the size of small macadam. There is a peculiar fascination about watching a rock-breaker at work. Its giant jaws suggest a living brute crunching its food. There is an irresistible relentlessness about the operation that usually charms the attention of visitors for some time.

Having passed through the stone-breaker, this ore joins that which has passed through the grating already referred to, and then falls into trucks at the surface level, which are hoisted up an incline into the mill, or is carried there by belt conveyors and deposited in bins which supply the battery. The roar of the stamps is so great that the only way of communicating is by sign or by shouting into the ear of the person addressed.

The ore is automatically fed by various contrivances under the stamps, each of which, in modern batteries, weighs at least 1,250 lbs., and these huge weapons are lifted and released by cams and pound the rock into a powder, which, mixed with water, passes through a screen in which there are from 500 to 1,000 holes per

square inch, according to the treatment applied to the particular ore dealt with. Having passed through the screen, this mixture of finely-powdered rock and water, which is called pulp, flows in a thin stream over sheets of copper covered with mercury, which forms an amalgam that has an attraction for particles of gold.

In this way about 60 per cent. of the gold contents of the ore are extracted, but the treatment is by no means ended at this stage. Fine as the particles are, they are still sufficiently large to surround finer particles of gold, which the amalgamated plate is in consequence unable to arrest. The pulp is then hoisted by tailings wheels or elevators, sufficiently high to deliver it automatically into tanks, but, before it is allowed to fall into these receptacles, the impalpable powder, called slimes, is separated from the coarser particles, called sands, and is delivered into receptacles for special treatment. I will not burden the description by going into minute details. Having separated and captured the classified material, a weak solution of cyanide of potassium is then poured over the sands and slimes respectively, and is allowed to percolate through and attack the material for five or seven days. The reaction that takes place consists in the cyanogen, in the presence of oxygen, releasing the potassium and replacing it by gold.

The solution of cyanide of gold is then drawn off, and is conducted into boxes that are filled with zinc shavings, because cyanogen has a greater affinity for zinc than it has for gold, and the result is that the gold falls down in a fine powder to the bottom of the boxes, and the cyanogen is left in company with the zinc. It is scarcely necessary to pursue the process further into the retorting and smelting furnaces.

Other processes besides that of cyanide treatment are in use at some of the richer mines, but sufficient has already been said by way of description to show

the immense labour involved in the extraction of the gold, which is not at an end when the cyanide treatment is over, because every ton of material that has been treated has to be removed from the tanks and transported to the tailings heaps, where it is finally disposed of. The skill and faithful diligence that is necessary in every branch of the work can be grasped when we realise that ore containing 10 dwts. of gold to the ton, of which about 90 per cent. is recovered, contains only one particle of gold to every 60,000 particles of waste material.

Although it is hoped that the short description given may convey a slight idea of the labour involved in winning and manipulating the ore, a word or two in regard to the huge appliances that are requisite will add to the picture. At the shaft are used winding engines of moderate size for hoisting the rock and lowering and raising men and materials. In the same building is generally a separate engine working a Cornish pump, which keeps the mine dry. In this connection I may point out that, as a rule, the mines of the Rand are, from a mining point of view, considered dry mines. Water, especially if encountered at great depth from the surface, becomes extremely expensive to handle.

The great extent of machinery necessary in gold-mining and the high horse-power employed are only appreciated when one enters the reduction works. Starting in the boiler-house, one passes eighteen or twenty huge bricked-in boilers, all of which, with the exception of possibly a couple that are stand-bys, are making considerable demands upon the activity of the stokers. You leave this scene of coal, coal-dust, and fiery furnaces, and, ascending a few stairs, enter the engine-room, with its spotless floor and shining machinery. The amount and size of the various engines in one of

these buildings is always striking to the imagination of a visitor. Besides the large driving-engine, which, for a battery of, say, 200 stamps, is generally of 1,000 indicated horse-power, there are usually one or two large engines compressing air, which is used underground for rock-drilling, and at most mines a number of dynamos are now being driven to transmit power to the machine-shops, or any other part of the works where it may be needed.

In no other part of the world are collected so many engineers and chemists of the first rank, constantly engaged upon the problem of decreasing the working costs and increasing the percentage of extraction, and through their instrumentality steady progress has been made in both directions. An important instance of this is furnished by the recent adaptation of the tube mill, an appliance which, it is estimated, will add 5 per cent. to the profits, and which is used for re-grinding the material after it has passed over the battery plates.

The total capital expenditure in equipping and developing seventy of the principal gold mines at which crushing is now in progress, prepared from the balance-sheets of the companies, amounts to £44,609,989. Included in this is £3,819,221 spent during the war in various ways—upon mine guards, grants to employees, etc., etc. — which should be deducted. If we eliminate that sum and the very small concerns upon each of which less than £100,000 were spent, there remain sixty-seven companies, upon which an average of £606,390 has been expended.

I have recently had occasion to examine the estimates for the development and equipment of two large deep-level blocks, upon which work has just been started, and which, for the sake of the highest efficiency and greatest economy, are adopting a joint system of working. The aggregate capital expenditure

upon them is calculated at between £2,200,000 and £2,300,000.

In a previous chapter (page 33) some statistics were given to show the insignificant present amount of exports from the Transvaal, excluding mineral products. In the present chapter it is proposed to review as concisely as possible the past history of the mining industry, with some remarks upon its future prospects and potentialities. The survey will necessarily centre upon the mines of the Witwatersrand, owing to their predominant position, but will not be kept within narrow limits, because the permanent stability of the country depends upon the introduction and profitable development of other sources of wealth.

Minerals form a unique foundation for the rapid advancement of a country; but as they are not inexhaustible, it is of vital importance, in the course of their exploitation, to establish other industries to support the population when the surface of the earth, and not its hidden treasure, has to be relied upon for sustenance. The subject will therefore be treated upon broad lines, and will include some remarks upon the duty imposed upon mines towards husbandry and commerce, as well as, perhaps, incidentally some allusions to the place occupied by capital, and the class that supplies it. For this class, unhappily, in the eyes of some persons, no criticism is too severe, no ascription of inhuman attributes too sensational, and no charges of self-seeking motives and dishonesty of purpose, or of brutal indifference to the moral and material progress of the country, too virulently expressed.

It is impossible to-day to give any definite estimate, either as to the length of life or the ultimate productive capacity of the Witwatersrand, but a calculation based upon indications that are disclosed by actual working furnishes a prospect that is startling. The 61½ miles over which the Main Reef Series has been proved to

persist in a continuous line, with but trifling interruptions, taking the immense distance into consideration, is held under various forms of title, but principally under claim licenses, for a horizontal distance from the outcrop that would involve sinking to a vertical depth of 8,000 or 10,000 feet before its contents of precious metal could be secured. The question as to the vertical depth at which it will be profitable to work cannot be determined to-day. Many circumstances favour working upon the Witwatersrand to greater depths than those at which profitable mining has been possible in other parts of the world.

Among the features which call for remark in this connection may be mentioned first the very slow rate at which the temperature of the earth rises as its crust is penetrated in depth. The average rise in temperature in the world has hitherto been assessed at about 1° Fahrenheit in every 65 feet of depth, but on the Witwatersrand tests[1] down to a depth of 3,900 feet show that the average rise is only 1° in every 208 feet. Various reasons may be assigned for this advantageous condition, the principal being the elevation of the Rand and the absence of thermal springs.

The second favourable circumstance is the absence of any large volume of water, which in many other parts of the world has put an end to profitable mining.

It is accepted by most engineers as reasonable to assume that an average depth of 4,000 feet vertical may be taken as a conservative depth, and that the beds are auriferous at even greater depths than that has been proved by bore-holes. For the purpose of giving some idea of the vast potentialities, without in any way pretending to give an estimate, if we assume that the 61½ miles will be worked to that depth, we obtain an area of 40,200 claims. The following table shows the amount of gold produced from the inception

[1] H. F. Marriott's tests.

of the industry to the month of June of the present year :—

WITWATERSRAND GOLD PRODUCTION.[1]

| Year. | | Ounces. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1887 | | 19,080 | £81,045 |
| 1888 | | 171,789 | 729,715 |
| 1889 | | 306,167 | 1,300,514 |
| 1890 | | 408,569 | 1,735,491 |
| 1891 | | 601,810 | 2,556,328 |
| 1892 | | 1,011,743 | 4,297,610 |
| 1893 | | 1,221,171 | 5,187,206 |
| 1894 | | 1,639,252 | 6,963,100 |
| 1895 | | 1,845,875 | 7,840,779 |
| 1896 | | 1,851,422 | 7,864,341 |
| 1897 | | 2,491,593 | 10,583,616 |
| 1898 | | 3,564,581 | 15,141,376 |
| 1899 | | 3,317,857 | 14,093,363 |
| 1901 | | 238,877 | 1,014,687 |
| 1902 | | 1,690,096 | 7,179,074 |
| 1903 | | 2,859,482 | 12,146,307 |
| 1904 | | 3,653,794 | 15,520,329 |
| | | 26,893,158 | 114,234,881 |
| 1905 | January | 357,214 | 1,517,349 |
| „ | February | 351,052 | 1,491,174 |
| „ | March | 385,575 | 1,637,818 |
| „ | April | 385,394 | 1,637,050 |
| „ | May | 400,149 | 1,699,725 |
| „ | June | 396,188 | 1,682,900 |
| Estimated unrecorded output for 1887, 1888, and 1889 | | 34,607 | 147,000 |
| Undeclared output October 1899 to May 1900 inclusive | | 584,841 | 2,484,241 |
| Amount won in 1904 undeclared | | 4,447 | 18,890 |
| | Total and Value | 29,792,625 f. ozs. | £126,551,028 |

In a Report made by the Engineers of the Witwatersrand, and presented to Mr Chamberlain at Johannesburg on the 13th January 1903, it is calculated that on the 31st October 1902, 1,082 claims had been worked out.

[1] Chamber of Mines Returns.

Assuming an exhaustion of claim-area on the basis then adopted, and taking into account the tonnage since extracted, it is found that at the last date given in the table 4·279 per cent. of the area has been exhausted in the eighteen years during which gold mining has been carried on. It should be noted that actual working only covered sixteen and a half years, the interval of the war accounting for a stoppage of eighteen months.

The ore of the Witwatersrand is essentially of low grade. No reliable statistics are available as to the total tons crushed, with their yield and the cost of working, in connection with all the operations; but careful analysis of the results obtained by sixty-three companies shows that, from their inception up to the date of issue of their last balance-sheets in 1903 and 1904 they had together crushed 39,364,671 tons, which produced 42s. 11d. at a working cost, including depreciation of machinery and plant, of 30s. 11d. per ton, leaving 12s. per ton net profit.

The value of this mining region lies rather in the measure of security it affords, in contradistinction to other gold-bearing regions of the world, than in its yield per ton. The following table, taken from the Engineers' Report to Mr Chamberlain, furnishes a comparison between the yield per ton of the Witwatersrand and the yield of richer mines in other countries:—

| AUSTRALIA— | | Shillings per ton. |
|---|---|---|
| New Zealand | (Waihi Gold Mines) | 55 4 |
| Queensland | (Mount Morgan) | 109 10 |
| „ | (Charters Towers Field) | 103 7 |
| „ | (Gympie) | 102 9 |
| „ | (Croydon) | 68 11 |
| „ | (Ravenswood) | 60 10 |
| „ | (Etheridge) | 75 3 |
| West Australia | (Great Boulder) | 102 0 |
| „ | (Kalgoorlie) | 140 0 |
| „ | (Lake View) | 120 0 |

AUSTRALIA—*continued.*

| | | Shillings per ton. |
|---|---|---|
| Tasmania | (Tasmania Gold Mines) . . | 82 0 |
| „ | (New Golden Gate) . . . | 70 0 |
| INDIA— | (Mysore) . . . . . | 108 7 |
| „ | (Champion) . . . . | 107 3 |
| „ | (Ooregum) . . . . | 83 5 |
| „ | (Nundydroog) . . . . | 97 5 |
| UNITED STATES— | | |
| Cripple Creek | (Portland) . . . . | 200 6 |
| Nevada | (Comstock) . . . . | 205 4 |
| Colorado | (Camp Bird) . . . . | 127 9 |
| VENEZUELA— | (El Callao) . . . . | 152 2 |
| MEXICO— | (El Oro) . . . . . | 55 9 |
| CANADA— | (Le Roi) . . . . . | 49 6 |

Although the gold contents of the ore upon the Witwatersrand, taken over a large area, is found very evenly distributed in the matrix, it must not be concluded that either each level of a mine, or even the whole of one level, is of approximately uniform value. The various mines show a great difference in yield, and in sampling the reef at every few feet in all the drives through it, or in the winzes or rises connecting the different levels, the assay results are most erratic. It is not uncommon for a distance of, say, 50 feet in a drive to obtain average assays of, say, 2 ozs. per ton, and in the adjacent 50 feet average assays of only 2 dwts. per ton.

The same remarks apply to the thickness of the beds, which are liable to enormous local variations. The thickness for 100 feet may average a few inches, and for the adjoining 100 feet several feet. This circumstance will be readily understood by the reader if he pauses to consider how great are the inequalities in the contour of the ground under a lake or in a river bed. These variations, both in the thickness and value of the beds in a confined area, give a speculative

character to the value of the undisclosed portion of any given property. But although this is true of restricted areas, the knowledge that has been obtained by working over a great distance in length, and to a considerable depth, furnishes data which, applied to a large area, enables calculations to be made with confidence.

Apart from the present proved area, there is no evidence at present to indicate that possible extensions of the banket[1] beds may not be found. That is to say, that neither at the eastern nor western end is the formation crossed by any other series of rocks which may be deemed to define the limits of the auriferous sedimentary deposits. In the Heidelberg, Klerksdorp, and Potchefstroom districts similar conglomerate beds are found. With the exception of the Nigel Mine in the former district, and a few properties in the other two districts named, the gold contents have so far not been proved sufficiently high for profitable working. To-day, however, a certain amount of development work is proceeding in all these districts which may lead to important results.

In the Lydenberg and Barberton districts a few properties are yielding profits; and some ground is being tested in the Bloemhof district, in a different formation to that in which gold is found in any other part of South Africa, which promises to develop into a successful mining enterprise.

The auriferous mineralisation of the whole Transvaal is remarkable. In the low country of the Zoutpansberg district there are certainly some promising indications; but up to the present, outside the Witwatersrand district

[1] Banket was a name given by the Dutch to the conglomerate beds of the Witwatersrand, and means almond rock. It is very common in South Africa for the Dutch to find a name for a new discovery based upon its resemblance to some commodity with which they are very familiar, and the conglomerate beds, on a reduced scale, have an appearance not unlike the sweetmeat referred to.

itself, but few mines have been found which appear likely to be worked on a very large scale, bearing in mind the present level of working costs.

The Transvaal is not only rich in gold, but possesses other minerals that add value to the gold wealth with which it is endowed. Coal beds of enormous extent are distributed over various parts of the country, and, indeed, without them many of the mines of the Witwatersrand could not be worked at a profit. The following is a list of the coal mines at present being worked, with their output for the year 1904:[1]

SPRINGS—BRAKPAN AREA—

1. Apex Mines, Limited (Coal Section).
2. Clydesdale (Transvaal) Collieries, Limited.
3. East Rand Gold, Coal, and Estate Company, Limited.
4. Great Eastern Collieries, Limited.
5. Transvaal Coal Trust Company, Limited (Brakpan Colliery).
6. Transvaal Coal Trust Company, Limited (De Rietfontein Colliery).
7. Tyne Valley Colliery, Limited.

MIDDELBURG AREA—

8. Cassel Coal Company, Limited.
9. Coronation Colliery Company, Limited.
10. Douglas Collieries Company, Limited.
11. Middelburg Steam Coal and Coke Company, Limited.
12. Rogerston Collieries Company, Limited (Crown Colliery).
13. Transvaal and Delagoa Bay Collieries.
14. Transvaal Consolidated Coal Mines, Limited.
15. United African Lands, Limited.
16. Witbank Colliery, Limited.
17. Zwartkoppies Coal Mines.

OTHER DISTRICTS—

18. Ermelo Collieries Company.
19. Hinchcliffe Coal Mine.
20. New Fortuna Company, Limited.
21. Nooitgedacht Coal Mine.
22. South Rand Exploration Company, Limited (South Rand Colliery).
23. Vereeniging Estates, Limited.

[1] Government Mining Engineer.

OUTPUT.

| Month. | Springs-Brakpan. | Middelburg. | Others. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| January . . | 91,048 | 83,686 | 16,980 | 191,714 |
| February . . | 86,944 | 83,986 | 12,212 | 183,142 |
| March . . . | 96,522 | 82,533 | 13,978 | 193,033 |
| April . . . | 93,691 | 78,104 | 14,761 | 186,556 |
| May . . . | 95,294 | 88,306 | 15,734 | 199,334 |
| June . . . | 94,496 | 94,249 | 16,616 | 205,361 |
| July . . . | 92,502 | 96,863 | 19,414 | 208,779 |
| August . . | 97,886 | 97,664 | 20,733 | 216,283 |
| September . . | 89,258 | 94,709 | 20,030 | 203,997 |
| October . . | 90,763 | 93,893 | 19,473 | 204,129 |
| November . . | 92,802 | 94,382 | 18,707 | 205,891 |
| December . . | 96,392 | 97,163 | 17,259 | 210,814 |
| | 1,117,598 | 1,085,538 | 205,897 | 2,409,033 |

Within the last few years diamonds have also been found in this wonderful country, the following being the list of properties at present being worked for that gem :[1]

*Mines—*

Premier (Transvaal) Diamond Mining Company, Limited.
Schuller Diamond Mines, Limited.
Kaalfontein Diamond Mines, Limited.
Eastern Diamonds, Limited.
Montrose Diamond Mining Company, Limited.

*Alluvial—*

Pretoria District Diamond Company, Limited.
Bynespoort Diamond Mining Company, Limited.
Transvaal Estates and Development Company, Limited.
Pretoria Oriental Diamond Mining Company, Limited.
Leeuwfontein Diamond Mining Company, Limited.
Christiana River Diggings.

Amongst them, the Premier Diamond Mine, discovered in 1902, may be selected as the only important rival to any of the celebrated mines of Griqualand West. Working began there in December 1902, and the

[1] Government Mining Engineer.

following figures show the progressive output and its realised value up to the 31st October 1904:[1]

| Year. | Month. | Carats. | Total. | Value. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1902 | December | 187¾ | | |
| 1903 | January | 614¾ | | |
| „ | February | 1,026½ | | |
| „ | March | 765½ | | |
| „ | April | 1,191¾ | | |
| „ | May | 10,683½ | | |
| „ | June | 14,619½ | | |
| „ | July | 15,864¼ | | |
| „ | August | 15,188¾ | | |
| „ | September | 16,516½ | | |
| „ | October | 22,549½ | 99,208¼ | £137,435 2 9 |
| „ | November | 24,911¼ | | |
| „ | December | 26,484¾ | | |
| 1904 | January | 32,056 | | |
| „ | February | 41,524¼ | | |
| „ | March | 49,349 | | |
| „ | April | 74,560¾ | | |
| „ | May | 75,891¼ | | |
| „ | June | 67,007 | | |
| „ | July | 83,537¾ | | |
| „ | August | 102,967¾ | | |
| „ | September | 89,654¾ | | |
| „ | October | 81,709 | 749,653½ | 866,030 0 5 |
| | | | 848,861¾ | £1,003,465 3 2 |

Under the Diamond Law of 1898 the owners of this property were only entitled to one-eighth, but by an enactment dated 30th July 1903 the State entered into a compromise, by which the owners were permitted to retain 40 per cent. of the property, the State taking 60 per cent.

The evolution of the position of the State respecting mineral wealth in the Transvaal is rather interesting. Originally the titles to farms included the proprietary right to all minerals beneath the surface. After the discovery of gold, the Volksraad passed resolutions by

[1] Annual Reports of the Premier Company.

which the State was to receive the right to levy certain charges for its administration and control of the mining industry. It would have been curious that landed proprietors should dispossess themselves of their rights in favour of the State, but for the circumstance that the Boers were entirely ignorant of mining, or of the possible great value of the minerals upon their properties. They therefore passed an Act, which in its first clause provided that "the right to mine for minerals belongs to the State."

It will be noted that the State was not endowed with proprietary rights, the provision being, not that minerals belonged to the State, but that the right to mine for them was vested in the ruling authority. This concession has been gradually stretched until the State has come to regard itself as the possessor of the mineral wealth of the country, subject to its allowing a certain specific share of any benefits that may accrue to the owners of farms, as well as to the discoverers of minerals upon them.

The welfare of the inhabitants of the country at large is no doubt well served by this condition having arisen, but the gradual expropriation of rights that at one time clearly went with the title-deeds to properties is a remarkable circumstance.

In the Republican days the Gold Law, in addition to reserving certain rights to the owner and the prospector, permitted the public to peg out claims. This led in time to many disorderly scenes, and resulted in a decision to rescind the regulations as to pegging out, and to allot the claims by lottery. Such a system naturally found no favour with the British Government, and the new draft law contemplates the sale of claims.

In a letter to the *Rand Daily Mail*, dated the 19th May, Mr H. C. Hull, a member of the Legislative Council, suggests that, in place of a sale of claims,

which might result, on the one hand, in the Government disposing of very valuable rights for a small consideration, and, on the other, in their receiving consideration for ground that might prove to be worthless, the procedure applied to diamond-mining should be followed in gold-mining upon the Witwatersrand. He excludes from his proposal any new district in which valuable minerals are discovered, pointing out that where, owing to the undeveloped condition of the locality, a great element of chance must exist in selecting claims, pegging might be allowed; but in the case of the Witwatersrand, where the nature of the formation is so well known, and where the value of the claims can consequently be estimated with a certain measure of accuracy, the system of pegging may lead to public disturbances, and inevitably result in the weaker members of the community going to the wall. He therefore recommends that a Board should be constituted to fix the boundaries of mineral areas, and the amount of capital to be provided for equipment, machinery, etc.; to make working agreements with persons ready to provide the capital as to the share of profits which they and the Government are respectively to enjoy; and, generally speaking, to supervise and enforce the conditions of the agreement.

There is much to recommend the plan which he proposes. It would afford an opportunity for a number of persons of comparatively small means to combine for the purpose of providing the necessary working capital, and it would create a basis upon which the colony would directly participate in the wealth that lies beneath the surface of the country.

Mr Hull asserts that under his scheme there would be "no payment either to vendors or promoters"; but he is scarcely correct in this particular, because the share retained by the State would take

the place of the vendors' shares issued in the case of private ownership. This fact, however, does not detract from the general merits of his proposal, which appears to me, on the whole, sensible and workable. It will naturally require thoughtful investigation before being carried into effect, the most difficult point to settle being the constitution of, and power to be allocated to, the Board charged with carrying out the provisions of the measure, in the event of its becoming law.

Besides gold, diamonds, and coal, silver, lead, copper, tin, cobalt, nickel, and iron have been proved to exist in the Transvaal. Much local excitement has recently attended the discovery of tin in an altered red granite formation. It is too early yet to make any prediction as to the results that may accrue from the quest of this metal. In Swaziland deposits of alluvial tin were worked upon a small scale before the war, and are again being worked in that territory.

Sufficient has been said in regard to the mineral wealth of the Transvaal to show that, though time must necessarily see it exhausted, so distributed and so vast are the possibilities in that relation, that it would be idle to speculate as to the remote day in the future when it will cease to be a factor of the first importance in Transvaal production.

To come back from the realms of speculation to the material facts of to-day, we will now consider the immediate outlook in its bearings upon the prosperity of the near future. At 31st December 1904 there were 5545[1] stamps at work on the Witwatersrand. During the year 8,063,577 tons were crushed, producing 3,648,254 ozs., worth 38s. 5·2d. per ton, at a cost of 24s. 4·4d., leaving a gross profit of 14s. 0·8d. per ton. From the gross returns, besides interest upon debentures, depreciation, etc., must be deducted the 10 per

[1] Government Mining Engineer.

cent. profit-tax to which the Government is entitled, and which, after allowing for the permitted reduction for the redemption of capital outlay, brings in approximately 7½ per cent., amounting for the year to £425,450.[1]

There were directly employed during the year at the mines 12,957 white men and 70,082 coloured, whose aggregate salaries and wages amounted to £6,661,668,[2] reckoning all charges, including managers, at the mines. The population along the reef amounted to 259,070 whites and blacks, and although it may have been at that date slightly in excess of the number justified by the production of the mines, we will, for the purpose of peering into the future, assume that the distribution of wealth through wages and consumption of supplies was sufficient for its support. Taking these figures as a basis, and assuming that five years from the end of 1904—namely, the end of 1909—11,000 stamps will be at work, it would involve the direct employment of about 160,000 men on the mines, which, taken at the ratio of the proportions existing between towns and mines in 1904, would signify a population on the Rand of about half-a-million souls. This will be entirely dependent upon an adequate supply of coloured manual labour. Assuming that upon the larger scale of working which will prevail at the mines by 1909 the average yield will fall to 9 dwts. per ton, the gold output for that year should then rise to a value of about £29,000,000. It is unnecessary to refer to the beneficial effect which such an increased output of gold will have upon the commerce of the world, or to point out the enormous benefit to British trade which the increased requirements of the Transvaal will ensure.

The effect of doubling the output will necessarily

[1] According to the Government *Gazettes* the revenue derived in cash from the profit tax during the year was £357,023, but the whole had not then been collected.

[2] Government Mining Engineer.

double the consumption of commodities, and as no considerable reduction in their cost can be effected, unless local production enters the field, it becomes highly important from every point of view that this should be encouraged. It should be borne in mind that, while the lowering of working cost may result in higher profits to companies in operation, it carries with it the infinitely more important consequence that millions of tons of reef which cannot be worked at existing rates would then be brought within the sphere of profitable manipulation. In order that the enlarged markets shall present an attractive opening for settlers on the land, it is, moreover, eminently advisable that local merchants should be patronised as much as possible. I am personally of opinion that, if the trade of the Witwatersrand is spread amongst the competing houses established there, fair prices for imported articles will rule, and the industry rather benefit than suffer by leaving the trading community to do business essentially theirs, and conserving the whole of the energy of those who direct it for the prosecution of the difficult and complicated affairs over which they are called upon to preside.

There are, of course, certain specialities, such as machinery, for which designs are made and tenders must be invited away from the Transvaal; but the importation of articles of general use is a misguided policy, and one that is unjustifiably injurious to the trading community. Every argument seems to me to point against it. Importation by individual companies spells the gradual accumulation of a certain amount of useless stock, which must make a hole in the apparent saving; apart from which, if the purchases from local houses should be confined to special articles, and not to those of daily use, the cost of running the establishments would result, of necessity, in their being sold at exorbitant prices.

Similar remarks apply to the encouragement of husbandry, the promotion of which may involve a certain amount of sacrifice upon the mining industry during the early stages, and may even, in the end, fail to produce the hoped-for results; but, in the event of success, the benefits would be so great that no one who views the problem from a broad and general standpoint would record his vote against the experiment being tried upon a fairly liberal scale.

Fortunately for the Transvaal, the interests of the country and of the inhabitants at large are identical with those of the capitalists. Elsewhere his operations are often directed to combining small concerns, reducing the number of employees, and squeezing high prices out of the consumers. In the Transvaal that field is not open to him, or, anyhow, at present offers him no attractions. The formation of a company to work a mining property is the signal for increased employment, and the investment of hard cash in stores and machinery.

The sum at which the concern is capitalised may be high or low, the profits large, small, or non-existent, the characters of the men associated with it good, bad, or indifferent; but no machinations on the part of the persons who find the money can prevent the benefit of the unavoidable outlay in working from reaching the pockets of the persons employed and the merchants who cater, or from swelling the revenue that levies toll.

In a recent publication the novel theory is propounded that the profits of working the mines should be computed in relation to the actual cash expended in their development and equipment, and should not take into account what is described as promotion money, under the heading of which is included the value of the ground. In all mining enterprises, other than those connected with alluvial washing, the pioneers take certain risks, the extent of which differs widely. No matter how small

the sum for which they secure the property in the first instance, they have to spend a considerable amount in developing it before sufficient assured value is exposed to justify the formation of a limited liability company. It is the exception rather than the rule, in new ventures, to meet with success. When, therefore, high mineral value is demonstrated, its owners are entitled to place an assessment upon the ground, representing not only the amount they may actually have spent, but framed upon a fair basis according to indications, and that amount is as much entitled to receive fair interest as the amount actually expended in machinery and plant.

During the early stages of the Witwatersrand there was deemed to be no less risk attaching to the conglomerate beds than to the gold-bearing quartz veins worked in other countries. It so happens that the sedimentary deposits of the Transvaal are phenomenally consistent in their yield, and the persons who had the enterprise to attack the uncertain proposition in the beginning had the further courage and foresight, as they saw the ground developing satisfactorily, to acquire other areas, which at that time were practically open to all-comers.

To exclude the value of the ground itself from any calculation as to the amount of capital upon which dividends ought to be paid, is to pronounce the astounding dictum that the only person entitled to any interest is he who puts money into the appliances through the medium of which the gold is secured. It would be analogous to a declaration that any one buying a piece of land in the neighbourhood of a town, the growth of which subsequently rendered it valuable as a building estate, should only be entitled to interest upon his original outlay, and upon such amount as he might have actually spent upon houses, but not upon the appreciated value of the land. The proposition is transparently ridiculous, but it might nevertheless, if

left unchallenged, mislead a certain number of persons unfamiliar with the subject. The rise in the value of land containing the conglomerate beds, after the permanent nature of the deposits became demonstrated, was almost incredible, but that circumstance, though very fortunate for those who had the pluck and foresight to enter the field in the early stages, in no sense lessened their right to the resulting benefit.

A striking case within my own experience occurs as I write. A small block of eleven claims situated in the richest part of the Rand was, at the beginning of 1890, held in half shares by a well-known firm and an individual. The latter desired to sell his interest for £10,000. The mining adviser to the firm in question urged them to buy, but, as times were bad, they refused. Thereupon, having obtained their consent, he got some friends to join in the venture, and bought the half share. A limited company was subsequently formed with a capital of £200,000 to work the property, which has since paid out about £1,500,000 in dividends. Instances of this nature could be multiplied, but the one example cited suffices as an illustration of the wonderful strokes of fortune within the reach of most of the inhabitants in those days. Huge blocks of claims could be secured by merely pegging them out and paying the small license money. *No one* had any conception of the immense value of the field, and few had any real faith in its intrinsic worth. Difficulties in treating the ore were foreseen and doleful predictions freely made that the sulphurets (*i.e.* the undecomposed ore met with at a depth of less than 100 feet from the surface) could not be worked at a profit. The extraction of the precious metal was naturally not accomplished without difficulty, especially when the refractory zone was encountered, but step by step metallurgical science came to the rescue and the percentage of recovery has steadily

risen. To trace the steps by which mechanical and chemical knowledge have aided the industry would alone fill a volume, but it is no part of my object here to do more than indicate that at the outset it was not plain sailing, and that what has now become a reliable business, comparable to coal mining, was in the early days regarded as a hazardous venture.

A point that has often been unfairly used against the industry, especially in connection with the agitation about Chinese labour, is concerned with the very large dividends paid by a few of the companies upon their nominal capital. Figures like 100 per cent. per annum are so startling that thoughtless and ill-informed persons naturally say at once, "Why do such concerns need cheap labour?" As a fact the nominal capital has nothing to do with the matter. I remember when, as an example, the Ferreira Company was formed with a capital of about £30,000, and was described in a local journal at the time as a swindle! Its property and capital have since been considerably increased, which makes an estimate of the actual appreciation of its original shares difficult, but what is certain is that since the days when the flotation provoked some adverse comments the market has multiplied the value twenty or thirty times, notwithstanding which fair interest is still derived from the investment. The case is almost parallel to that of any other increased value. The investor purchases because the concern gives him a satisfactory return upon the price he pays, irrespective of the value placed upon the enterprise by the vendors or by the public at the time of flotation.

In the case of profit-earning concerns the market rate of shares usually conforms, in normal times, to their performances and prospects, and in the case of enterprises which have not entered the producing stage, and as to the value of which there must be an element of speculative uncertainty, the price is arrived at by

analogy. Commodities fluctuate in value according to the laws of supply and demand, ups and downs being common in every sphere of commercial energy. In mining particularly, where chance plays no small part, they have always to be reckoned with, though certainly less so in the Witwatersrand than in any other metalliferous region in the world; but our consideration is not concerned with the question of risk, but with the question as to the standpoint from which the needs of an industry must be judged, and to argue that because a given company pays 100 per cent. it has no reason to practise economy in working is absurd. For the reason that it has gradually demonstrated its power to make that profit investors have become interested at prices that only return to them an annual 5 per cent. or 10 per cent. as the case may be, and it is upon that basis that the industrial needs must be gauged.

It is a common sport, indulged in by men who ought to know better, to abuse the capitalist—a game that has its origin, possibly, in failure. Most men in this life start without means, and have to shape their own careers. Presumably, it will be conceded, the majority start as honest persons. Is it contended by the critics of all men who make money, especially those who do so in connection with mining, that either honesty and success are irreconcilable foes, or that the footsteps of success are dogged by the irresistible allurements of roguery? Fortunately criticism of that order will not deter the competitors of the future from industriously striving to make fortunes, and it would be an evil day for commercial progress if the gibes of the envious, the idle, the incompetent, or the unfortunate could produce that effect.

In this connection it is worth quoting a passage from a speech delivered by Sir George Farrar, at a meeting of the Progressive Association on 12th May 1905, with reference to his election as President of that party.

Confessing to having become a capitalist through his own exertions, he proceeded to discuss the world-wide prejudice that exists against that class, and pointed out that, in advocating one vote one value, he supported a great democratic principle for the political control of the country. He then drew a comparison between the unpopularity in the House of Commons of the Transvaal mine-owners of to-day and of the mill-owners at the time Mr Cobden was carrying on his campaign for the repeal of the corn laws. At that time, "the greatest stigma which could be applied to members of the House of Commons" was the title of mill-owner. Mr Cobden's opponents declared that that class cared nothing for the agricultural development of Great Britain so long as they could get greater dividends. History, said Sir George Farrar, has now accepted these mill-owners as patriotic men, and it remained for the capitalists of the Transvaal to prove their right to be similarly described in the records of the future.

We have seen that over £40,000,000 have been spent by seventy companies in bringing 5,500 stamps into operation. Besides these, there are erected about 2,000 stamps, as to the cost of which no record is obtainable. If five years hence the anticipated 11,000 are at work, a sum in the neighbourhood of another £25,000,000 will presumably have been invested in the interval. The capitalist will find most of it, and may make a handsome profit in doing so. But what would happen if he revolted at the strictures he has to bear, and retired? Do not let me cause any alarm, as, in spite of his detractors, he is not likely to do so.

The persons who control the mining industry will favour the devotion of a certain portion of the revenue to the development of the country. They would not be justified in doing so from a philanthropic point of view, but only because their interests are likely to be

promoted in consequence, as well as those of the country. Local production will tend to cheapen supplies, and in turn possibly lead to the establishment of other industries, all of which may have a bearing upon the profitable manipulation of lower grade ores. Should this satisfactory result ensue, mines which are now working under profitable conditions will realise still larger profits, much to the chagrin, I know, of those persons who hate the idea of mines making any profit at all. Economic laws, however, are happily not built upon personal antipathies, and though the existing mines may benefit, the reduction of working costs in the future will bring into the range of profitable exploitation many propositions which cannot be undertaken under existing conditions. Thousands of people may thus find a field for their energies, local trade reap a full share of the benefit, as well as the manufacturer in the United Kingdom, while the country itself will rise in the scale of importance, and contribute in no small degree to making South Africa one of the most important of British Colonies.

## CHAPTER IV

### KAFFIRS, CHINESE, AND OTHER ASIATICS

THE great majority of the native inhabitants of South Africa are off-shoots of the Bantu race. There is to-day a wide difference in the physique, language, and status of the various tribes, due to a variety of causes, among which may be mentioned climate, environment, means of livelihood, and degree of independence. The Mashonas, for instance, until the subjugation of Lo Bengula, were in constant dread of depredations by the more warlike Matabele, an offshoot of the Zulu tribe. Resistance had proved useless, and so they finally bowed to the inevitable, became a subject race, and lost all their manly attributes. Inversely to their degeneration, the stronger tribe became more self-confident, until, first in open warfare, and later, as the result of rebellion, their power was broken by the white man. The effect of the defeats they suffered cannot fail to manifest itself in the bearing of individual members of the tribe. To-day many Matabele work for white men. In the days of their great chief they would have scorned to do anything but hunt, or make raids upon neighbouring tribes, dipping their spears in the blood of their fellow black man, murdering his wives and children, excepting those carried off as slaves, and stealing his cattle. To-day they are found working side by side with the despised Mashona, for whom they, no doubt, still nurture the contempt of days gone by; but association, and the loss of their

dominant position, will in time level these unequal beings. Before the destruction of the Zulu power, the "impis" of Cetywayo regarded themselves as the flower of the native races, ready at any time to do battle for ascendency against any other tribe, and valiant enough to challenge the might of Great Britain. They remain a sturdy body of men, but unfortunately retain their love of the chase and of an easy life, doing but little of the work by which they might earn good wages. It seems incongruous that, for the working of the sugar estates, Natal, with a large number of natives within its borders, and situated at the gate of Zululand, should have had to import thousands of Indians.

In the Cape Colony the tribes are gradually learning the value of labour, and show a disposition to offer themselves in increasing numbers, but in that country the spread of education is having a marked effect. Its benefits are not unalloyed with disadvantages, as will be seen when the native problem is brought under review.

The most advanced and powerful of the South African tribes to-day inhabits Basutoland, where the administration is directed by a British Resident, aided by a number of resident magistrates, to whom the chiefs seem to yield a ready obedience. Many Basutos are being educated in missionary schools, and this tribe, as well as the less vigorous Bechuanas under that enlightened chief Khama, are gradually emerging from barbarism.

The black population is bound to increase very rapidly under the British flag, tribal wars having ceased, and those practices abolished by which thousands of men perished in the days of the "smelling out" witch doctor (whose nose, be it noted, usually directed him to members of the tribe who were accumulating cattle, or for one cause or another

were in the eyes of the chief best out of the way), because the Bantu is healthy and prolific, and is, moreover, slowly but surely acquiring the elements of hygiene. A great many have now learnt that to gorge themselves upon the half-cooked flesh of an ox carried off by disease is unhealthy.

At the great labour centres he is not allowed any alcoholic drink, and his diet there is of a most wholesome kind and liberal in quantity. Formerly no practical restriction stood in the way of intemperance, and the vile decoction of fiery components that he purchased and consumed had the worst possible effect upon him morally and physically. The weight of evidence given before the South African Native Affairs Commission was overwhelmingly in favour of total prohibition, and the Commissioners unanimously recommend "that the sale or supply of spirituous liquors to natives should be prohibited," and further propose uniformly severe penalties throughout South Africa for a contravention of the laws or regulations in that connection, making, however, certain reservations in favour of Kaffir beer "containing not more than 4 per cent. of spirit," which "is food as well as drink, and, taken in moderation, has proved itself of great value as a preventive of scurvy and kindred complaints." They describe the native as "constitutionally incapable of being a moderate drinker," and assert that he and his best friends "unitedly desire prohibition."

It will be long before the natives derive the full benefit of closer contact with civilisation, because their reasoning powers are limited, and their point of view entirely different to ours. I will give a few instances, for the accuracy of which I can vouch, as they are either within my own personal experience or come to me at first hand.

In the early days of the Kimberley mine, a digger

working next to me employed "a boy," who served him admirably, and to whom he became much attached. This Kaffir was attacked by a violent chill that developed into inflammation of the lungs. He was ill for weeks, and my neighbour employed doctors and nurses to tend him. When he finally became convalescent, he expressed his desire to visit his kraal. His employer readily assented. The day prior to his departure he demanded 10s. owing at the time he fell ill. My neighbour replied: "It is quite true I owe you 10s., but how can you ask me for this paltry sum when you know I have spent £80 in curing you?" "Why did you spend so much?" replied the boy, "I did not ask you to. Why didn't you let me die?" The Kaffir did not mean to be ungrateful; he merely looked at the matter from his own standpoint —quite foreign to ours.

If you give your native servant a sovereign for a present, unless he is sophisticated, he will probably run away from you the same night. He does not understand receiving something for nothing, and would credit you with sinister designs against him that he was not able to fathom!

Many Kaffirs to-day understand piecework and a bonus system, but about twenty years ago I tried the effect of giving an extra half-a-crown on pay-day to the boys who had done good work. The result was disastrous. The recipients of the bonus did not understand it, the others were most dissatisfied. One native, to whom I tried to explain why some had been given the extra pay, simply replied: "If those boys did more work than we did, they did a little work for us too!" Communism could not go further than that.

I do not want to labour the subject, but will give one more instance of the original working of the native mind. Shooting parties, and travellers going

for a long expedition in the interior, take with them a number of carriers. A friend of mine on his return from a trip told me of a curious experience. His own black servant, employed upon his personal service, as distinguished from that of the party, proved a treasure. He paid him 20s. per month. At the end of the first month my friend complimented him upon his zeal and usefulness, coupling his praise with the announcement that he had resolved to raise his wages to 30s. per month. From that moment the boy ceased to render good service, and, in place of being willing and merry, turned indifferent and sulky. His master could not make it out, but had not long to wait for the explanation. When the next pay-day came round, he duly paid the promised 30s., but to his surprise the boy said: "You owe me 10s. You said I was a good boy, and you would pay me 30s. I was a good boy when you paid me 20s.; and if I am worth 30s. now, I was worth 30s. then, so you owe me 10s.!"

In his raw state the native differs from the white man in most things. He sings weird songs in a minor key, he thinks in a novel way, and expresses many emotions allegorically. If he has had a great stroke of fortune, he might say "chieli mhlove" ("I killed an elephant"); or, a lesser piece of luck, "chieli zinkabi" ("I killed an ox"). The flow of conversation among Kaffirs is simply remarkable. They talk about trivial things at inordinate length, and romance a good deal. There is a picturesqueness about their manner of clothing any story they relate that is delightful. They are endowed in many respects with the natural instincts of gentlemen, savage though they may be in others; and, from centuries of complete respect for, and loyalty and obedience to, their chief, can often be implicitly trusted by their master. Many a raw native would guard his employer's property

with his life, but steal from a neighbour at the same time.

Kaffirs are on the whole brave, merry fellows, and one cannot have had a long and intimate association with them without liking them. Many of them experience bad treatment at the hands of white men, generally because they fail to understand their wishes, and they are therefore naturally prone to be afraid and suspicious of them. When I was a manager of mines, I put down any ill-treatment with a strong hand, and I think it is rather the rule than the exception now to dismiss white men instantly who kick or otherwise ill-treat the natives of whom they have charge. Unfortunately it was not always so.

First contact with civilisation frequently has disastrous consequences, and, moreover, the class of civilisation they meet is not always of the best. Like any grown-up child, released from the effective restraints of a rigorous home control, they are apt to imbibe the vices and ignore the virtues. There are two respects in which even the uncontaminated Kaffir is low in the scale, according to our moral standards. He has no regard for the truth, and he is treacherous by nature. His smiling face is no index to his reflections. In time of war or of rebellion he will commit nameless horrors.

When recruits arrive at the mines they are generally in bad condition, owing to the stress of a long journey and indifferent food; but they soon pick up, and after they have been at work a month, get into the pink of condition—if that term is applicable to the owner of a dusky skin. They are gradually acquiring a taste for the white man's wants. Until my recent visit to South Africa I had never seen a native on a bicycle; to-day dozens are met with on every road near the larger towns, and in the mine compounds they ride them for amusement. Formerly they took

home chiefly umbrellas, and small travelling trunks; now they are beginning to take back finery for wives and sweethearts, after the Kaffir conception of good taste.

Travelling through the Orange Free State in the late seventies, I recollect meeting Kaffir men, practically naked but for a garment that may be likened to the scantiest of swimming attire, carrying a blanket to shield them from the chilly night air, while the women were dressed mostly in gracefully-arranged festoons of beads. The discarded soldier's coat then became the fashion for men until the Government forbad the defaming of Her Majesty's uniform, and now European clothes are the rule, rather than the exception, for both sexes. The education in wants of this order must in time increase the labour of natives for their gratification. But little change is noticeable in the habits of the Kaffirs in the compound. They still sleep upon hard planks, and make no attempt to increase the comfort or the appearance of the sleeping apartment.

The advent of the Chinese will teach them a great deal in this regard, for the Celestial has an artistic taste unknown among Kaffirs. The difference between a Chinese sleeping-room and a similar apartment occupied by Kaffirs is striking.

The most friendly relations appear to be growing up between the aborigines and the inscrutable Chinamen. Each acquires in an incredibly short space of time sufficient of the other's tongue to exchange ideas. It is most interesting to watch these two vastly different races conversing, so far, it must be admitted, mainly by the aid of signs. It will certainly not be long before a language will be invented, consisting partly of Chinese and partly of Kaffir, that will pass current, and form an effective means of communication.

The Chinese have a love of plants and of birds that

is pleasant to witness. It is not uncommon to see a number of them gathered round some simple flower of the veld, which they touch and smell, but do not pick, and which they often end by digging up to plant in front of their bedroom in the compound. Many of them keep birds, over which they appear to exercise great influence. I came across a tame little linnet that hopped from its owner's hand to mine with no misgiving. People with so great a love of Nature's handiwork cannot be without good qualities.

In physique the Kaffir is perhaps somewhat superior to the Northern Chinaman. He is taller, though not much better knit. It is too early to make an accurate comparison of their relative working capacity, but a consensus of opinion among managers assesses it as approximately the same.

The Chinese have so far belied the reputation that preceded them in two important particulars—namely, in the disposition of their earnings, and in their showing no inclination to do overtime. It was thought that when a Chinaman had finished his ordinary day's work, which in the case of hand-drilling is usually about three o'clock in the afternoon, he would proceed to take on another contract until at least six o'clock at night, to satisfy what was described as his rapacity. Members of the trading community who expressed so much doubt as to the effect of employing Chinese labour, are now loud in their praises, since the spendthrift tendencies of the Celestial have been demonstrated beyond cavil.

The Secretary of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, replying upon 2nd March, to a communication on the subject from the Chamber of Mines, writes :—

"I beg to inform you that this enquiry has been submitted to the Executive Committee of the Chamber, and also to the members of the Soft Goods Section. As a result I am directed to state that the experience of the

wholesale traders as to the effect of the importation of Chinese labour up to the present is that there has been a distinct increase of trade. The labourers have not been long in the country, and it is difficult to determine the exact proportion of wages spent here; but they have, during the past two or three months, undoubtedly made purchases freely of soft goods, foodstuffs, and luxuries."

The cost of feeding Kaffirs and Chinese, taking an average of nine mines from which returns have been obtained, is respectively 3·527d. and 6·851d. per shift, and shows that the tastes of the latter involve an increased charge for their keep. Adding to this other expenses, like compound and hospital charges, and the cost of importing and repatriating them, even spread over the period of their contract time, we may take the monthly[1] cost of a Chinaman as far as can be ascertained at present, at, roughly, 12s. 9d. more than a Kaffir, excluding wages. This fact should be conclusive testimony that the mining industry will only employ Asiatic labour as supplementary to the native supply, and that if the increase of the latter, as may be anticipated, becomes eventually equal to the demand, the importation will cease.

The estimates made as to the number of unskilled labourers needed, if not vastly exaggerated as to ultimate requirements, were certainly far too sanguine regarding the rate of absorption. Managers with only 40 per cent. or 50 per cent. of the complements required prepared estimates on an excessive scale, and the speed at which new work could be undertaken was reckoned too highly. Assuming that the natives continue to come forward in numbers equal to those of the last few months, a halt in the importation of Chinese will soon be called. The recruiting of natives, however, for the months of April, May, and June shows a falling off.

No definite comparison between the wages paid

[1] A month is taken as 26 shifts.

to natives and to Chinamen can be made yet, but they are framed upon the same basis, and if the Chinese prove themselves as efficient as the Kaffirs, which seems probable, they will earn the same amount.

Among the numerous charges levelled against those who employ Asiatics, there is one to the effect that the object is to reduce the cost of Kaffir wages. It is quite true that the contract made in China provides for a minimum wage of 1s. per day, but this provision was inserted solely as a weapon against absolute loafers. In the opinion of many persons, well qualified to judge from their knowledge of the East, the minimum was fixed much too high, and a few cases have already occurred of coolies who are content to live well, and, in addition, to receive 1s. per day for a mere pretence of working. In order to satisfy the contentions raised by Kaffir champions at home, Mr Lyttelton imposed a condition upon the mining industry that the wages of the Chinese, after their first six months' work, should not be less than an average of 50s. for 30 working shifts to place them upon a footing of absolute equality with the aborigines. In this connection it is amusing to observe that most of those who have expressed so much solicitude for the Kaffir—the "British Kaffir," as he is frequently called—are sublimely ignorant of the fact that only 15 per cent.[1] of the whole of the black labour working at the gold mines comes from British territory. This circumstance has in the past placed the British colonies in a somewhat disadvantageous position, because Portugal has had it in her hands to cripple the staple industry of the Transvaal at any moment by stopping the labour supply, the major part of which is recruited in her territory, and she has received concessions in consequence. The advent of the Chinaman, therefore, is useful, apart from his value in muscular energy,

[1] South African Native Affairs Commission Report, p. 79.

in rendering the Transvaal practically independent of Portuguese goodwill, though the relations are, and it is to be hoped will remain, of the friendliest.

His presence is also of the highest value in reminding the Kaffir that he is not indispensable. One of the managers told me the other that a Kaffir had said to him, "We shall not be wanted by and by." Economic conditions were evidently not within his knowledge, or he would not have made the statement; but if the natives become impregnated with the belief that their monopoly of the manual labour market is threatened, it can only be of advantage to South Africa.

Apprehensions have been expressed that the Asiatics would prove an immoral influence upon the Kaffirs. I have discussed this with a great many mine managers who are employing both Chinese and Kaffirs, and they all tell me that they have seen nothing to give grounds for this fear.

I am indebted to Mr Lane Carter, the well-known manager of the French Rand Gold Mining Company, for the following interesting particulars concerning his experiences during six months in working with 1,404 coolies, who arrived on that mine on 14th October 1904. Some of the white men, he states, had a fear of the new-comers, due, no doubt, to the monstrous tales circulated before their arrival, and also objected to have raw material to deal with, so they left their situations, and went to other mines where the conditions were more agreeable. For a number of months he had very incompetent white miners in his employ, which rendered the task of breaking in the Chinese labourers extremely difficult; and on a mine like the French Rand, where the margin of profit and loss is small, it was attended with considerable pecuniary loss. The aversion to the Chinese gradually wore off, and a better class of white man was engaged.

Mr Carter describes the tastes of the Chinamen as far more exalted than those of the Kaffirs, and refers to the number of watches and clocks they purchase. Sometimes a Chinaman, especially one of the police, of whom he employs twenty-five, possesses two or three watches, to say nothing of sundry alarm-clocks. Indian hawkers do a roaring trade with them in fruit and in mineral waters, especially of the coloured variety, pink lemonade being particularly in favour. Mr Carter regrets that Europeans are not making the considerable amount of money that is being earned in this way. He says that Chinamen take to piece-work far better than the Kaffirs, but with nothing like the enthusiasm that was expected. They require coaxing to do their utmost, and, as the result of distributing a few prizes every month, a marked improvement was noticeable. He thinks the piece-work system will become very popular with the Chinese.

So far as he can judge at present, the Chinese are, as workmen, superior to the Kaffir in some respects, but inferior in others. Being entirely untrained, they are able to do but little work upon arrival, which adds materially to the cost of their introduction, but gradually they gain in strength, skill, and efficiency. The daily average per Chinaman employed in hand-drilling has reached 40 inches, which exceeds the average obtained for Kaffirs. In the vicinity of running machinery the Chinaman is more intelligent and of more help to his "boss" than the Kaffir, but in the work of sustained brute force, such as pushing trucks upon the tram lines underground, the Kaffir beats the Chinaman.

Mr Carter describes the management of the Chinese as an art, and says it is a mistake to think that they can be handled on the same lines as Kaffirs. It is of the greatest advantage to have a compound manager who speaks their language and has had

acquaintance with them in their own land. In a letter he says:—

"The Chinaman has not the wholesome respect for the white man which the Kaffir has. With a Kaffir any white man he comes into contact with is more or less his 'boss.' He will, in fact, obey most 'White-skins.' The Chinaman is different. He will give to the white man placed over him (whom he calls 'No 1') a fair amount of obedience, but he will not implicitly follow any white man that comes along. On the whole, however, the white man, as he learns the peculiarities of the Chinese, gets along well with them."

White supervision over the Chinese police is very essential. Mr Carter tells me that when power is given to a Chinaman he generally abuses it, and rapidly becomes a tyrant. "The 'squeeze' system seems almost ineradicable, and, unless watched, a Chinaman in authority makes a mandarin of himself, and demands tribute of all his subjects."

There are factions among the Chinese, members of one party sometimes bitterly hating those of another, and he attributes such disturbances as they have had at the French Rand to differences among themselves, and not in any sense to discontent with their lot. White mounted police were called in once or twice, but on no occasion was any one seriously hurt. So far from being dirty, they make great use of the baths built for them in the compound, and, in the opinion of Mr Carter, the charge of gross immorality against these men is false. He considers that they show much control and self-restraint—much more, indeed, than the Kaffirs.

They have taken very kindly to Sunday, and enjoy the day of rest. After twelve o'clock they are given permits to visit the neighbourhood. They were allowed three days' holidays for the celebration of the Chinese New Year, and thoroughly enjoyed their festivities. In conclusion, Mr Carter says: "Having seen some of

the misery of humanity in the near East and in the cities of England, I can only say that I think the Chinese coolies on the Rand are in clover."

I made enquiries in regard to the question of opium-smoking, and Mr W. T. Anderson of the Glen Deep, who has in his charge over 2,000 Chinamen, and who is one of the most intelligent and respected of mine managers, tells me that, while a great many Chinaman occasionally indulge in a few whiffs of opium, the vast majority of them show not the least disposition to excessive indulgence in that pernicious habit. He has discovered and dealt with one or two bad cases, but he states that excessive opium-smoking among the Chinese is a very rare occurrence. Chinamen usually smoke a little opium as we should drink a glass of beer, and it is only in the most exceptional cases that they have evinced any sign of losing their self-control.

On several occasions I went out to see the coolies have their dinner. It is a most extraordinary sight. At the Glen Deep, Limited, for instance, they have a dining-room capable of seating 1,500 at a time. The order and cleanliness that prevails is beyond criticism. In the adjoining kitchen huge vessels, some containing well-cooked rice, and others stewed meat and vegetables, emit fumes of a most appetising description. One coolie, representing ten of his friends seated at one of the tables in the dining-room, proceeds to the side of the kitchen where the serving takes place and obtains two vessels, one containing rice and the other stew, which he carries back, and from which the ten men then help themselves. No limit is placed upon the quantity of rice or tea which the coolies require, and the rations of meat are in every respect adequate. Two coolies were overheard discussing their new land, and one said, "We live like mandarins in this country: we eat rice every day." The position of affluence in which the coolie finds himself in South Africa is best brought

home by remembering that his wages in China are only about twopence a day, and that he migrates to Korea for the sake of earning the magnificent emolument of fivepence per day.

When the men first arrive their appetites are simply enormous, but after they have eaten as much as they can for about a fortnight, the consumption becomes normal. At this mine it is a pleasure to go among the coolies, because one is met by smiling faces at every turn, which is due to the keen interest which the manager takes in their welfare. The same description applies to many other mines; but, on the other hand, there are, of course, cases where, owing either to ignorance or the lack of good feeling on the part of the manager, or similar attributes—coupled possibly with apathy on the part of those in immediate charge of the coolies—a less happy condition of affairs prevails. Some men, alas! are not broad-minded enough to realise that in dealing with Kaffirs, Chinese, or with any one else, a little friendly human interest is one of the high roads to confidence. It is not surprising that there have been disturbances at some of the Chinese compounds, due sometimes to misunderstanding and impatience on the part of the white man, and at others to the action of the Chinese themselves, who, it must be remembered, docile as they usually are, are by no means angelic.

It is almost unnecessary to say that they are very cunning and clever, and that troubles have arisen on more than one occasion owing to a deliberate "try on" on their part. One has but to read the exaggerated descriptions that are published broadcast respecting every little incident that transpires to realise the falseness of the whole agitation upon this subject. The white men are learning to manage these strange men from the East, who, in turn, are adopting tactics to discover exactly how far they can go in making

demands beyond the provisions of their contract and in evading its terms. The management of the whole business is in the hands of highly competent and respected men, and is subject to the supervision of British officials at every turn. This in itself undoubtedly satisfies fair-minded people, and no impartial person who has visited the Witwatersrand has had any fault to find with the manner in which the coolies are treated; but the struggle for party gain appears to render men so unscrupulous that the vilest methods, including cries of slavery, are not beneath those who try to make capital against the British Government, and who sweep aside or distort the testimony of honest men who depict the facts of the case.

So far the Kaffirs and the Chinamen have, on the whole, been the best of friends—the former, indeed, taking great pains and finding much pleasure in initiating their new chums into the mysteries of their occupation. Sooner or later, no doubt, there will be battles between them, in which a few heads will be broken, as there are, from time to time, battles between the various tribes in any given compound on the Rand. No correspondent would dream of cabling about a local fight between a number of Kaffirs, but if the same class of engagement takes place, either between Chinamen or Chinamen and Kaffirs, no description would be too lurid for the "yellow" press at home. Correspondents, who have been identified in England with the anti-Chinese campaign, are sent out by certain newspapers, as they declare, to gather reliable and impartial information on the spot. For a person who has expressed a definite opinion on any subject to be able to take an impartial view upon that subject shortly afterwards is a very rare gift. He goes out to the scene of operations with his views already formed, and it is only human nature to seek evidence, not of an unbiassed character, but in support of his expressed contentions.

It is scarcely too much to say that these persons, who are sent out in the guise of unprejudiced observers, are in reality only employed to bolster up the side their employers have already taken, and their conclusions might therefore be as justly written in England, without the expense, the loss of time, and the degradation involved in their mission.

The Chinese are very fond of theatricals, and at some of the mines they have already organised entertainments. At the Glen Deep they have placed in the hands of the manager £250, which has been sent to China for the purchase of scenery and stage properties, which, as a contribution by about 2,000 men, is no small tribute to their love of the drama.

The storekeepers tell me that in their purchases of soft goods they do not buy rubbish, and show no small knowledge respecting the quality of the materials. At all the mines there are stores, kept by independent traders, who are doing an excellent business.

Absolute freedom is permitted upon the property out of working hours, the Chinaman being obliged to obtain a pass if he wishes to leave the surface area held by the Company to visit any of the villages or places elsewhere. Nearly all the coolies possess a smart costume, either brought from their native land or made by their own hands, in which they look most picturesque on high days and holidays. Otherwise they have adopted European clothing.

So little is known about compounds that a short description will not be out of place. The compound system that obtains at the diamond mines in Griqualand West and at the Premier Diamond Mine in the Transvaal is not applied in all its particulars at the gold mines. In Kimberley it was introduced for two reasons—(*a*) because the natives were wretchedly nourished upon the unwholesome food that was supplied at the Kaffir eating-houses, and (*b*) because those miserable

institutions afforded an excellent medium for the disposal of stolen diamonds. The boys showed great ingenuity in their various ways of concealing diamonds, and only by restricting their liberty during the period of their service was this nefarious traffic reduced. At the diamond mines no intercourse is permitted between native employees during their term of service and outside traders, and for three or four days prior to the conclusion of their contract they are placed in a separate part of the compound—away from their fellows—and are fed without charge prior to their departure. In spite of all these precautions, they still manage to steal no small quantity, either in number or value, of the precious stones. At the gold fields a rigid system of this description is unnecessary, and the compounds are in reality merely large areas upon which are erected the buildings provided for the housing and feeding of the labourers.

Exception has been taken to the provision in the Chinese Ordinance for the compulsory return of the immigrant after he has finished his term of service, but any one who knows South Africa can only applaud this wise provision. For the working of the sugar estates in Natal, many thousands of Indians have been from time to time imported, and in their case the condition as to compulsory return was not made with disastrous consequences. Many of these coolies, who were traders by training and by instinct, started as hawkers upon leaving their employment at the estates, and by dint of an infinitesimal expenditure upon their keep, and a hoarding up of the profits earned in their diminutive businesses, finally accumulated sufficient capital to start as small shopkeepers. To-day a great deal of the retail trade throughout the towns of Natal and in the Transvaal is in the hands of Indians.

Information supplied by Mr M. Chamney, the Protector of Asiatics, under date of the 4th April 1905,

enables me to give the following details upon this subject:—The number of Asiatic males over 16 years of age registered under Law 3 of 1885 up to the 15th March 1905 was 10,535, of whom 9470 were Indians, and 1,065 were domiciled Chinese. No records of the late Government are in existence to show the numbers for the period preceding the war. An estimate made shortly after the occupation of the country by the Imperial forces placed the Asiatic population at 20,000 souls in 1899. The number of Asiatic general dealers in 1899 was 623, of whom 351 held licenses, and 272 traded without licenses.

The number of general dealers' licenses in force on 31st December 1903 was 923, and the number in force on the 28th February 1905 was 929. These figures do not, however, represent the actual number of Asiatic stores, which is considerably less. Owing to the fears of future restrictive Asiatic legislation, many have taken out licenses in order to secure their position, and not for the purpose of immediate trade under them.

The following is a statement of the trading and other licenses held by Asiatics throughout the colony on the 28th February last:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Grocers | 115 |
| General Dealers | 929 |
| Hawkers | 2,903 |
| Travelling Traders | 24 |
| General Agents | 7 |
| Bakers | 5 |
| Butchers | 37 |
| Boarding and Eating Houses | 47 |
| Laundries | 24 |
| Dairies | 4 |
| Fruiterers | 10 |
| Attorneys | 1 |
| Various | 3 |
| | 4,109 |

Their habits of life are such that no white man has a chance of obtaining a subsistence in competition with them.

To have imported more Asiatics, without restriction as to their movements at the end of their term of service, would have been to increase this undesirable condition of affairs, which tends to drive the white trader out of business. Under the provisions of Ordinance No. 17 of 1904, the Chinese are obliged to return to their native land after the expiration of their contract. The contention that a stipulation of this description savours in any sense of slavery is altogether untenable. The Chinaman enters voluntarily into a contract which, in a pecuniary sense, is highly advantageous to him, and from the time that he leaves to the time that he returns to his own country lives in a far better way than he has been accustomed to. When in the future the true conditions are appreciated impartially, and all the agitation and misrepresentation is lost in oblivion, every one will wonder that the matter could have obtained such prominence. It is fair to say that the facts of the case have never warranted an outcry, which has only been rendered possible by the false appeal to certain honourable instincts of the British people.

In their intercourse with the coloured races white men should always remember what they owe to their caste. Undignified behaviour is not only injurious to their prestige, but may do incalculable practical harm. Undue familiarity on the one hand, or undisguised contempt and ill-considered harshness on the other, are alike to be deprecated. The deputation of miners that waited upon Lord Selborne on 2nd July to urge that steps be taken to protect them against the obscene language used towards them by the Chinese, must have been taken aback by his Lordship's question as to where the epithets complained of had been learned! He

appealed to the miners to "be just and fearless," and pointed out that, to command the respect and obedience of the coloured labourers, they must themselves avoid the use of bad language and refrain from getting drunk in their presence. If we are to sustain our claim to superiority in the eyes of the coloured man, we must practice the virtues that will justify it.

Recent reports concerning outrages by, and punishment inflicted upon, the Chinese, should be received with caution. It would appear that the liberty of the coolies is so unrestricted that they find no difficulty in decamping, which is *prima facie* evidence against their alleged enslavement. The prejudiced opponents of Chinese labour, however, either ignore, or fail to see, that wholesale desertions are inconsistent with the theory of slavery. Dismissing the latter as an exploded party-cry, it may be well to meet the allegation that coolies run away owing to bad treatment. That there may have been individual cases of brutality on the part of persons in charge is possible: that ill-treatment has been the rule is not only untrue, but improbable. To put the case upon no higher ground than that of self-interest, the employers must be aware that bad accounts sent to China would be likely to stop the supply. But, apart from the employers, surely the Chinese representative and Englishmen officially employed would have protested had any of the diabolical punishments been inflicted of which reports have appeared in certain quarters. Desertions are ascribable to quite other reasons, the chief of which consists in a desire to evade their contracts and, having been brought to South Africa at the expense of other persons, to start life upon their own account. They are possibly acquainted with the legal disabilities in the way of their independent career in the Transvaal, and they may be aware that no such restrictions exist in the Portuguese possessions. A secondary cause arises

from the fact that among 40,000 men drawn from the lower ranks of an Oriental people there must be a percentage of ruffians. These are the men who prefer crime to work, and it is to deal with them that a larger police force is required. A comparatively small number of such a class can do considerable mischief, but their exploits should not be accepted as characteristic of the vast majority who are tractable and industrious.

But for the outcry that would have been assuredly raised that they were being hired to guard "the slaves," extra police would doubtless have been provided before. Desertion is a very common occurrence with the Kaffirs, and assuming that 500 or 600 Chinese labourers have deserted, bearing in mind the total number employed, it would only be equal to 1½ per cent. Those who scream so loudly, and upon such slender information, about oppression, should pause to remember that their words may find their way to the distant compounds, and like some of the party utterances that reached the Boers before and during the war, which are best forgotten, may bear awkward fruit. Suggestion is a terrific weapon. A healthy man told often enough that he looks ill will believe himself ill, if he does not actually become so. A search through the columns of certain daily papers would provide some astonishing cases of inhumanity and grossness even in Great Britain, and while it is imperative to check crime among the coolies with a strong hand, a few isolated and revolting cases should not be seized upon as illustrative of the Chinese on the Witwatersrand.

# CHAPTER V

## THE NATIVE PROBLEM

Of all the problems with which the present and future statesmen of South Africa are faced, none can compare in gravity or complexity with the native question. Stated in brief terms, it may be defined as a standard of the relations between the white man and the black man. When the differences between the white races have been lost in oblivion, it will still remain a living question. Not only is it necessary to determine whether, and at what point, the voice of the native shall be heard, but also the maximum extent to which that voice shall be permitted to exercise influence in public affairs. The complexity of the matter does not end here, because, in addition to the Aborigines, there is a large and increasing population of coloured people, graduating from pure white to almost coal black, and covering in mental equipment an immense area, from absolute ignorance to considerable attainments.

Such is the magnitude of this supremely important and deeply-interesting problem, that the intention in these pages is only to make a flying survey, and to draw attention to the broader aspects of some of the considerations involved. It is essentially a question affecting the whole of South Africa, and therefore cannot be treated in its bearing upon the Transvaal alone.

No solution can be suggested that contains even the presumption of settlement, because remedies can

only be applied empirically, and will have to be altered from time to time. The essential difficulties of the subject are increased by other factors. In South Africa the great majority of the white population views with extreme and natural apprehension the bestowal of representative rights of any kind upon the native. In England there is an academic sympathy for inferior races, and a desire on the part of a great many of the people to accept them as brothers, in a political sense, upon a footing of equality with the white man.

It is at this point, perhaps, important to lay emphasis upon the undeniable fact that the attitude of the English people towards the native arises from their most honourable crusade against slavery, which has left behind it a tender feeling for all people who suffer from persecution or oppression; but it is nevertheless worthy of note that very few, if any, Englishmen, in reply to the question as to whether they would like to see their sisters married to black men, would answer in the affirmative; and the equality, therefore, upon which they are ready to place him is founded rather upon sympathy than reason. The absence of personal contact with black men deprives them of the power to look at the question from a practical standpoint, and they should bear in mind that every Englishman who goes out to the colonies, no matter how negrophile his views on leaving, returns to his native land with his opinions considerably modified.

Extreme opinion in South Africa opposes the granting of any electoral rights upon any terms to the natives. Extreme opinion in England would throw the doors wide open, even to the possible rule of white men by natives. The adoption of either alternative would be fraught with the gravest consequences in the future, and the delicate structure which responsible statesmen will have to build is a golden bridge to reconcile them.

Up to the present each colony or state in South

Africa has framed its own policy for the treatment of the natives, and a very wide difference exists as to the position they occupy in those territories. In the Cape Colony and Rhodesia they enjoy the franchise upon very easy terms, and in the former colony make considerable use of it. In Natal, though it is nominally accessible to them, practically no natives enjoy the right to vote, because of certain special qualifications necessary—such as a period of seven years' exemption from native law, certificate of good character, and the consent of the Governor. Under the Grondwet of the late Transvaal Government the natives received no political recognition at all, and were indeed described as "creatures," the same conditions applying practically to the late Orange Free State.

Before the introduction of the British flag, tribal wars and native institutions tended to keep down the population; but their abolition has entirely changed conditions, and the population is increasing rapidly. Feeling that the time had arrived when some steps should be taken to deal with the native question upon a comprehensive plan, Lord Milner appointed the South African Native Affairs Commission on the 22nd September 1903 to consider and report upon—

1. The status and condition of the natives; the lines on which their natural advancement should proceed; their education, industrial training; and labour.
2. The tenure of land by natives, and the obligations to the State which it entails.
3. Native law and administration.
4. The prohibition of the sale of liquor to natives.
5. Native marriages.
6. The extent and effect of polygamy.

The Commission, presided over by Sir Godfrey Lagden, who has spent many years of his life in dealing with native affairs, and possesses, therefore, an unrivalled knowledge of the subject, comprised besides

himself, ten Commissioners—two each representing the Cape Colony, Natal, Orange River Colony, and Transvaal, and one each Rhodesia and Basutoland. The Commissioners, taken as a body, are entitled to be regarded as the highest authorities on the subject, and the scope of their enquiry was somewhat widened by a resolution passed at the Bloemfontein Conference in March 1903, according to the terms of which they were requested "to offer recommendations to the several Governments concerned with the object of arriving at a common understanding on questions of native policy." The Commission sat for seventeen months at various places, examined some 400 witnesses, of whom the names of 256 are given in an Appendix, and have presented a Report which is a monument of thorough investigation and well-founded conclusions. Every one who is seriously interested or concerned in the native problem, either as a resident in South Africa or as a student of the subject, should diligently read every word of that remarkable document.

In the course of the following review I shall make as much use as possible of the valuable information it furnishes; but I do not propose in any sense to give a synopsis of its contents or conclusions, aiming rather at drawing attention to certain matters with which it has not dealt, or to which the scope of the enquiry did not extend. A notable instance of omission, which may well have been intentional, is disclosed in the recommendation that a certain parliamentary representation should be accorded to the natives, without any accompanying advice as to whether natives themselves should be eligible as members. Another important subject that should be considered concurrently with the native question is that relating to the position of the "coloured" people. As they were not included in the terms of reference, the Commission naturally did not grapple with this matter, which nevertheless adds

a serious intricacy that cannot be ignored, in the event of uniform legislation anent colour being introduced throughout South Africa.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Report is that unanimity prevailed. No Minority Report was compiled, which is a most extraordinary thing, considering the number and complexity of the questions that were considered, and only upon a few points, none of vital importance, did any of the Commissioners dissent from the opinion of the majority.

The first point to get clear in our minds is what is meant by the word native. At present each State in South Africa has its own interpretation, and after giving a brief review of native history, the first task which the Commission accomplished was to define this term. Their recommendation takes the following form: "That the word native shall be taken to mean the aboriginal inhabitants of Africa south of the equator, and to include half-castes and their descendants by natives." This is a definition which it seems difficult to improve upon.

If it be laid down that the child of a pure white and a pure black shall be a half-caste, then the children of marriages between those persons will, in turn, remain half-castes, having in their veins the same proportion of the blood of black and white persons as their parents. As natives could not improve the status of their children by union with white people, any temptation in that regard which now exists would disappear.

But the effect of the recommendation goes still further, and will tend to reduce the proportion of the population coming under the nomenclature of "coloured" people, because half-castes would naturally seek marriage with persons springing to a greater extent from the white races, and this process might be expected to eventuate in a gradual extinction of colour.

I propose now to discuss the question of the

"coloured" class, with which the Report does not deal, not because it is at all commensurate in importance with that of the pure aboriginal, but because, by considering it first, the ground will be cleared for dealing with the higher question. In spite of its paling into insignificance by the side of the native problem, it is, nevertheless, a subject of wide importance and interest.

The admixture of blood is found in every proportion, the extent, as is well-known, not being distinguishable by colour only. Members of the same family are often vastly different, both in type of feature and in colour. Some persons, who, by descent, belong to this class, are to all intents and purposes white, having, in many cases, fair complexions and light hair, their black blood finding expression only in the finger nails, or in some other physical attribute of a minor nature. Other members of the same family frequently have the thick lips, woolly hair, and almost swarthy hue of the pure native.

The degree of mental advancement among these people is almost as widely different as their type of feature or colour. Among some of the best and most respected Dutch families in South Africa there is a strong strain of coloured blood; but in spite of this disadvantage, in a country where such a circumstance militates tremendously against the individual, some of the higher official positions are in their hands. In the face of this fact it is obviously impossible to pass any legislation, having in view their special classification; and in the event of the recommendation of the Commission, in regard to the definition of native, finding acceptance throughout the whole sub-continent, intermarriage will in time tend to decrease the visible signs of their origin.

While, on the one hand, there are these highly-cultivated and civilised people, the great bulk of the "coloured" population performs the work of the lower

orders, ranging from that of a raw native to that of a skilled artisan. Many of them are employed upon farms, and drive cabs. They are, undoubtedly, an intelligent, self-respecting, and hard-working section of the population, and, given that they fulfil the necessary qualifications, it would seem reasonable, taking all the circumstances into account, to treat them on the same basis as white men. Included amongst them are a certain number of Asiatics—principally Malays—and their descendants in the Cape Colony.

This imports a new factor into the problem. If Malays are to enjoy political rights upon the same basis as white men, then other resident Asiatics, of whom there are about 10,000 in the Cape Colony and 100,000 in Natal, would consider themselves entitled to the same privileges, and there is no logical ground upon which their claim can be resisted, as the Indian ranks intellectually higher than the Malay. There is no doubt, however, that the prejudice against Asiatics in South Africa is very strong. It is due, firstly, to the fact that the coolies imported from India have been naturally drawn from the lowest classes; and secondly, to their having, upon the expiration of their indentures, monopolised a great deal of the retail trade, to the detriment of the white man. Whether South African sentiment, in the event of a general settlement of the native question, would consent to the full enfranchisement of the "coloured" man or not, it would certainly be absolutely opposed to the inclusion of imported Asiatics. It is quite certain that no further importation of Asiatics into South Africa will be permitted, except as a temporary expedient, and with drastic conditions as to repatriation. The white population is bound to increase, not only by the natural process, but by the further settlement in the country of Europeans; and after the passing of a law defining who shall be deemed to be natives, and determining their status and rights—a law, moreover,

tending to decrease the number of "coloured" people—the white inhabitants may ultimately consent to the progeny of Asiatics, if they reach the standard of qualification demanded, being allowed to enjoy the franchise on terms of equality with the white man.

Assuming that such legislation is shortly adopted throughout South Africa, special provision will either have to be made concerning the "coloured" man, or he will have to be treated as a white man. It appears to be only reasonable to adopt the latter alternative, although I am fully aware that such a policy will not commend itself to a large number of people in South Africa.

There is a political organisation of "coloured" men in Johannesburg, which held three meetings early in the present year, and discussed the question of the franchise and the Report of the Native Affairs Commission. They evidently did not realise that they were specially excluded from the enquiry, but were alarmed at the possible prospect of their entire disfranchisement, and the remarks of men like General Beyers were referred to as having been received by them with consternation. The meetings need not be regarded as of very serious importance, nor is it necessary to emphasise the strong language that was indulged in upon one occasion; but the mere fact that they have a political organisation and convene meetings should be noted. According to the new Constitution they are excluded from any political rights—a provision which, under the existing condition of affairs in South Africa, was essential; but this adds an additional reason for united action, as soon as possible, that shall place the position of all the races upon a settled basis. Were it not imperative for all the colonies of South Africa to come to a common understanding upon a native policy, there would have been no particular urgency to deal with the question of the coloured people, the importance of which, as will be seen by the subjoined statistics, is

at present confined almost exclusively to the Cape Colony, where they, in common with the native population, enjoy the privileges of the franchise upon a footing of absolute equality with the white man.

POPULATION OF THE VARIOUS SOUTH AFRICAN COLONIES AND POSSESSIONS.[1]

| Name of Colony or Possession. | European. | Aboriginal. | Coloured. | Asiatic. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| CAPE COLONY . | 579,741 | 1,424,787 | 395,369 | 9,907 |
| ,, (*1891* | *382,998* | *1,066,238*) | | |
| NATAL (incl. Zululand) | 97,109 | 904,041 | 6,686 | 100,918 |
| ,, (*1891* | *47,436* | *628,478*) | | |
| ,, (*1880* | *25,271a* | *362,477a*) | | |
| TRANSVAAL (incl. Swaziland) | 300,225 | 1,030,029*b* | 23,946 | Included under Coloured. |
| ,, (*1899* | *288,760* | *754,321*) | | |
| ORANGE RIVER COLONY . . | 143,419 | 235,466 | 6,160 | ,, |
| ,, (*1890* | *77,716* | *129,787*) | | |
| ,, (*1880* | *61,022* | *79,496*) | | |
| SOUTHERN RHODESIA . . | 12,623 | 591,197*c* | 1,944 | ,, |
| BASUTOLAND . . | 895 | 347,731 | 163 | 59 |
| ,, (*1891* | *578* | *218,902*) | | |
| ,, (*1875* | *499* | *127,707*) | | |
| BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE . | 1,004 | 119,411 | 361 | Included under Coloured. |
| TOTALS . | 1,135,016 | 4,652,662 | 434,629 | 110,884 |

*a* Excludes Zululand.
*b* Includes 133,745 labourers temporarily resident.
*c* ,, 20,367 ,, ,,

[1] This table is reproduced from the Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission.

It will be seen by this Table that in the British possession south of the Zambesi, there are rather over four aborigines to one white, which is ample evidence of the gravity of the problem.[1] The inclusion of the coloured people as a portion of the white inhabitants would reduce the proportion to one to three. A very interesting and important feature disclosed by the statistics is the great rate at which the white population has grown between the years 1891 and 1904. Taking the statistics for the Cape Colony, Natal, and the Orange River Colony, it will be seen that while in ten years the white population increased by 61·4 per cent., the native population only increased by 40·5 per cent. The figures for the Transvaal do not permit of a comparison. Taking into account the great expansion of industry that may be looked for, which will afford employment for and cause the immigration of an increasing number of white people, and bearing in mind the gradual education of the native population to greater habits of industry which will render importation from other countries unnecessary, there is ground for hope that, as the years go on, the terribly disproportionate strength of the respective races will lessen.

That the natives are rising in the scale of civilisation is visible to any one visiting South Africa today, who has had an acquaintance with them in the past. Education, through the medium of missionary schools, has spread considerably, apart from which, contact with the industry and habits of the white people has greatly affected the native, and as a necessary corollary his aspirations to rise in the social scale, and to take an interest in public affairs, have been stimulated. Guided by the advice of the Native

[1] In the United States of America, where the whites outnumber the blacks by 6 to 1, the question of the coloured man is regarded as a grave social problem. In South Africa, where the ratios are reversed, its importance is proportionately increased.

Affairs Commission, the white inhabitants of South Africa will, no doubt, acquiesce in their suggestions upon the subject of education. According to the Report, the consensus of opinion expressed by the witnesses was, that while in a certain number of cases education has had the effect of creating an aggressive spirit in the native mind, has exaggerated their sense of individual self-importance, and has rendered them less docile and contented with the position for which nature or circumstance has fitted them, the general influence has been beneficial in raising their level of intelligence, and in increasing their earning power and capacity as workers, to the advantage of the community.

Apart altogether from our moral obligation, it is certain that whether special facilities for education are provided or not, the native will gradually obtain it, and from a mere material standpoint, therefore, it is wise to consider whether its direction should not rather be systematically controlled than that he should be allowed to develop upon his own lines. In the Report great stress is laid upon not only moral and scholastic, but also upon some form of industrial, training. The Commissioners, after discussing the question from every standpoint, recommend (*a*) the continuance of Government grants in aid of native elementary education, and (*b*) that special encouragement and support, by way of grants in aid, be given to such schools and institutions as give efficient industrial training. They find that the number of suitable native teachers is far below the demand, and therefore recommend that a central institution be established, supported by the various States, for training native teachers, and for affording opportunities for higher education to native students.

The latter part of their recommendation is one that will be read with some anxiety in South Africa, but in any case the number of natives sufficiently advanced

to take present advantage of any such provision is very limited. The cultivation of a friendly disposition towards the native is more likely to avert a terrible conflict in the future than an attitude of hostility, or an attempt to hold him down in ignorance. But when this is said, there is something more that should be honestly and openly avowed—that, keeping in view the numerical disproportion of the races, and taking it as settled that the white races will insist upon ruling, and will never consent to be ruled by, the natives, the amount of influence that they will be allowed to exercise must always be limited. The great thing to avert in South Africa is a repetition of the dishonest and unhealthy conditions prevailing in the Southern States of America, where the negroes are nominally endowed with similar rights to the white man, but where in practice they are not allowed to exercise them. The Commission has had the courage to face that question, and offers a solution which, if accepted, would go some distance in the direction, if not of a final settlement, at least of a working arrangement likely to endure for many years, without creating serious racial animosity.

Upon the subject of representation the following resolutions were adopted:—

1. That in the interests of both races, for the contentment of the native population and better consideration of their interests, it is desirable to allow them some measure of representation in the Legislatures of the country; that such representation should be granted on the following lines, and recognise the following main principles:—
   (*a*) That no native shall vote in the election of any member or candidate for whom a European has the right to vote.
   (*b*) That the extent of such representation, that is, the number of members to be granted to native constituencies, shall be settled by each Legislature, and that at least one such seat should be created

in each of the self-governing colonies in South Africa now, and in each colony or possession as it becomes self-governing.

(*c*) That in each colony now self-governing, or when it becomes self-governing, there should be created an electoral district or districts, in which native electors only shall vote for the election of a member or members to represent them in the Legislature, and that there should be separate voters' lists and separate candidates for natives only, but that this should in no way affect the franchise, the voters' lists, or the representation of the European community within such districts.

(*d*) That the qualification for the native voter be the same as for the European.

2. That the qualification of the member or members to represent the natives should be determined by each Legislature.

It will be seen that the Commission has not hesitated to suggest a principle which shows in some particulars the essential features of class legislation. They leave the number of members, representing native districts, to be fixed by the Legislatures of the respective colonies, and, in fact, entirely separate the candidates for native suffrages from those seeking the votes of white men. The Commission arrived at these conclusions after having made a very thorough investigation into the conditions under which natives are treated at present in the respective colonies, and the visible effects produced by that treatment. In the Cape Colony, for instance, where in 1903 there were 135,168 voters, the persons enfranchised comprised 114,450 Europeans, 399 Indians, 5,455 Kaffirs, 2,662 Fingoes, 10,162 others (the coloured people were evidently included in these), 747 Malays, 1,226 Hottentots, and 67 Chinamen. Out of the total, therefore, there were 20,718 non-European voters, representing more than one-seventh of the whole.

In the body of their Report the Commissioners, in reviewing the position of that colony, say: "The native population of the Cape Colony is about a million and a half, out of which a quarter of a million are adult male natives and potential voters. The present number of native voters is, therefore, the merest fringe of the impending mass, and in view of this fact, the full magnitude and gravity of the question may be apprehended. A few of the witnesses claimed that full and equal political rights should be granted to all classes of men fulfilling the necessary franchise qualifications, and they urged that anxiety on the score of disproportions might be relegated to the distant future. These views are not shared by the Commission, which recognises that a situation has arisen requiring fair but resolute treatment, a situation not only immediately unsatisfactory but pregnant with future danger." They then proceed to show how in many constituencies the weight of the native vote can already determine the issue of an election between competing Europeans. As a result of the rapid spread of education, the higher earning power of the unskilled labourer, and the acquisition of fixed property, they express the opinion that in the near future, in at least some of the constituencies, the native voters will outnumber the Europeans. "Under such circumstances the voting of the future may proceed upon race lines, and no one acquainted with the conditions of life in South Africa will hesitate to say that a conflict would then arise fatal to the good relations which have upon the whole hitherto existed between white and black in this country."

The Commission, in closing their observations regarding the Cape Colony, lay stress upon the wisdom of forethought, and of timely provision in the interests of the whole population, and point out that the Europeans in any constituency will not be

content to be represented by a member possibly returned against their wishes by the native vote, and that they will not tolerate in any conceivable Legislature a Ministry dependent upon a majority of members owing their seats to a native electorate.

It is unnecessary to follow the Commission in their remarks upon the manner in which the Natal native is obstructed, and practically excluded from exercising rights nominally accorded to him, nor in their observations as to the desirability of extending the privilege of the franchise to natives in some parts of South Africa where they have not hitherto enjoyed it. While they contend that it is unnecessary and impracticable to take away the franchise from natives who already have it, they recommend a change in the manner in which it is exercised, and desire to see the same privileges extended elsewhere in South Africa, "provided this can be done without conferring on them political power in any aggressive sense, or weakening in any way the unchallenged supremacy and authority of the ruling race, which is responsible for the country, and bears the burden of its government."

Having arrived at these conclusions, they found no difficulty in unanimously deciding upon a system which has stood the test of many years' experience in another British Colony, and "embodies an idea which pervades much of the most thoughtful evidence on the subject led before the Commission."

The resolutions passed provide for separate voting by native electors for a fixed number of members to represent them in the Legislature of the country, with the same status as other members, the object being to afford an adequate means for the expression of native views, and the ventilation of any grievances they may have. The soundness of the central idea is unquestionable. It is to be regretted that the Commission did not see their way to go to the length of

recommending whether natives might be elected as members, or whether the Legislatures should be composed exclusively of white men.

In this connection one or two important considerations may be suggested. If natives are permitted to sit in Parliament, there must arise in the course of time an agitation by such members for increased representation, particularly after an occasion when the native members may have unitedly voted upon a subject in which they have been defeated by a united white vote. Such members in addressing their constituents at a later date would doubtless use strong expressions regarding the inadequate representation from the numerical standpoint, and this might lead to much discontent, and even to a dangerous agitation among the native people. The risk of a similar agitation would be minimised if the natives were represented by white men, who would be more likely to attach themselves to opposing parties, and, in consequence, seldom be found voting as a compact body in opposition to the rest of the House.

As the Commission definitely recognised that the number and qualifications of persons to represent the natives should be fixed by each Legislature, there is little doubt, if the opinions of the majority of the white people in South Africa are allowed to settle the question, that those representatives will be white men. Such a decision would have much to recommend it, though it would not be in conformity with the aspirations of the natives, most of whom, in giving evidence before the Commission, pleaded for equality of treatment.

In dealing with this very delicate subject it would be well for the Legislature to consider whether some provision could not be made limiting the grounds upon which a white man should be allowed to seek the suffrages of the natives. Holding in view the reservations in favour of the Legislature, it would be undesirable that candidates should endeavour to ingratiate

themselves by declaring that if elected they would use their endeavours to get the number of representatives increased. Such a course would accentuate native dissatisfaction. The enactment might therefore make it illegal for any white man, seeking election in a native constituency, to use arguments in conflict with this principle. By such a provision he would be restricted to dealing with matters affecting the government of the natives, and would not be allowed to discuss the question of the adequacy of representation.

The adoption of the proposals made by the Commission would be one of the paving-stones on the road to federation, which certainly cannot be effected until there is a common native policy, and it would put an end to the objectionable, if not dangerous, practice now prevailing in the Cape Colony, of rival white candidates bringing to bear upon the ignorant native mind the not too scrupulous appeals that are frequently prompted by the exigencies of the party system.

The mental power of the average native is acknowledged to be physiologically inferior to that of the average white man, but as a natural consequence of education their reasoning faculties will be developed, and a certain number will no doubt attain to a scholastic proficiency as high as that of the "coloured," and possibly equal to that of many of the white people.

Apart altogether, therefore, from individual cases of remarkable intellectual endowment, which will inevitably occur, though probably in rare instances, the adoption of the definition of "native" recommended by the Commission, will debar all natives, however cultured, from rising to a footing of equality with white men, and, in certain events, with coloured men. This will undoubtedly create an anomalous and invidious situation; but a departure from accepted principles will not be practicable, because if either learning, public spirit, high

character, or any other admirable attribute constituted a fact capable of changing the legal status, the door would be open to the ultimate swamping of the white man's vote, and all those serious evils might arise of which the Commission is so apprehensive, and which must at all costs be averted.

From an ethical standpoint the exclusion of educated natives, having all necessary qualifications but that of the prohibitive definition, would not be justifiable but for a still higher moral consideration—the peaceful development of South Africa. If it be granted that either the white man or the black man must rule, and that joint action for the common weal, except upon specified and restricted lines, is not possible, and the question is then asked as to which race ought to rule, no white person having a knowledge of the subject would feel any hesitation in answering. Bearing in mind numerical disparity, it is undeniable that the unfettered enfranchisement of the natives would involve government by the natives, and such instances of native rule as Hayti and Liberia can scarcely recommend themselves as a political ideal for South Africa. No fertility of invention could devise educational, pecuniary, or any other stipulations to avert such a result in the long run, if the qualifications for the franchise were fairly applied, alike to white and black aspirants. No compromise under such conditions would be possible; the natives would rule. It is, therefore, obvious, if that situation is to be averted, that it must be specifically declared that the natives are a subject race. Such a declaration in itself will constitute a stride towards settlement upon broad and safe lines. Human wisdom is limited to grasping conditions as they are, and it is only possible to frame regulations likely to promote peace, order, and happiness, during a period not extending very far into the future.

Let us assume that the destiny of the native may

some day place him upon the same or a higher plane than the white man. It is highly improbable, because it could only result from a development of his brain power, which there is no ground to apprehend, or from a degeneration of the white intellect, and every white man, loyal to his caste, must hope that nature holds no such fate in store for his successors, even in remote ages. But if that condition ever did arise, the native would be entitled to rule the white man, and would rightly insist upon doing so. According to the present standards of measurement, the natives are in all respects, in strength, in stamina, in capacity, and in acquirements, inferior beings, and, if that be acknowledged, the mission and the right of the white man lies in governing them with justice and firmness, in giving them a well-defined legal status, in promoting their intellectual and industrial training, in stimulating their power of self-control, and in inculcating the principles of morality. For the present they are separated from white men, not by colour, not by wealth, not even fundamentally by education, but by a gulf of profound mental dissimilarity.

But any statute that may be framed for these purposes should assert, in very definite and honest terms, the dominant position which the white man holds to-day, and which he intends to maintain. The native will respect and bow before a straightforward policy of this description, but he would despise the white man if he pretended to bestow privileges, which in practice he withheld.

These considerations undoubtedly raise the delicate question of class legislation, which is so repugnant to the British love of liberty and equality of opportunity. But the sooner the question is faced in the light of reason and is stripped of sentimentality, the better will it be for the native races, for the people who have to live with them in the colonies, and for the strengthening

of the tie that binds the latter to the mother country. Any man who claims to be a lover of humanity must, in approaching this subject, sink any of the blind prejudices that may be his, and look at the problem with an open mind. There are conflicting elements which cannot be reconciled. The position may best be grasped by considering a few questions :—

1. Assuming the Commissioners to be correct in their conclusions, which alternative shall be chosen :—
   (*a*) That which will tend to the development of countries inhabited partially by whites and partially by blacks in accordance with the ideals of white civilisation?
   (*b*) That which will inevitably lead to domination by black people?
2. Which is morally less reprehensible :—
   (*a*) The legalisation of conditions which must sooner or later lead to the ghastly horrors of a racial conflict?
   (*b*) The declaration and acknowledgment of an inequality of treatment, which offers a possible solution and a workable basis?

These are questions which any one who is interested in the treatment of native people throughout the world should consider, and they apply, of course, with particular force in South Africa, where the Bantu race is only gradually emerging from absolute barbarism.[1]

The native question is essentially a problem for South African statesmen, and should never be permitted to enter the sphere of party politics in England. It is far too grave. It embraces the welfare, and possibly the safety, of the whole of the white inhabitants of South Africa, and it is the question above all others upon which colonial opinion is likely to be unanimous

[1] Strictly speaking, "savagery" would be more accurate, but the less opprobrious title is used advisedly.

in resenting any undue interference from the mother country. The subject should be approached both in South Africa and in Great Britain in a spirit of moderation, and with due regard to each other's duties and susceptibilities, but English statesmen should bear in mind that the colonists have an intimate personal acquaintance with the natives, and that the veto of any legislation passed in South Africa, designed to establish a common system in the treatment of natives, would be fraught with the most serious risks.

The best evidence that the colonists are not imbued with unworthy sentiments of hostility towards the natives is furnished by the Report of the Native Affairs Commission, and by the action of the Cape Legislature in the past. The effect, however, of the latter's over sanguine and over liberal treatment has now become evident, and it is generally realised in that colony that some modification of the rights at present conferred upon the native must be made, no less in his own interest than in that of the white inhabitants.

Some high-minded men, full of charitable instincts, and imbued with philanthropic feelings for the inferior races, have a belief that the settlement of white men in countries previously inhabited only by blacks is morally wrong. Barbarism succumbs rapidly in the presence of civilisation. The ordinary process of evolution would have left the natives in happy ignorance, possibly for centuries, and by keeping down the population through tribal encounters and destructive internal practices, the stress of life in the huge sub-continent would not have made itself felt before distant ages.

But if it be conceded that the spread of religion and civilisation is the mission of the higher races, then the disturbance and discomfort that is brought into the black man's life by the intrusion of the white man is

justifiable, and it becomes a rational proceeding to insist upon the resident aborigines bearing a reasonable share of the white man's burden, as they are called upon to do under any European administration.

The Native Affairs Commission have gone fully into the tribal system, and show that the authority of a chief over his tribe is similar to the authority of a father over his children. "He is their chief court of appeal, he sanctions all changes made in the traditional usages of the tribe, but everywhere amongst the natives the absolutism of the chief is tempered by institutions which keep it in check." Except in certain cases of military autocracies among the Zulus, the Matabele, and the Swazis, the rule of the native chiefs has been controlled by councillors, who were not formally appointed, but who, by virtue of their "courage and war-like achievements, wealth, skill in public debate, penetration in unravelling the intricate windings of native law suits, or other personal attributes," became representative public men. The introduction of European government has in all cases, except in that of Basutoland, superseded the tribal system, but many of its principles have been preserved, in respect to such matters as communal rights and collective responsibilities.

Their family life and habits, as well as the question of marriage under the native system, are fully considered, and recommendations are made as to the status which shall be given to the latter in comparison with that which shall attach to a marriage solemnised by a minister of religion. There is ample evidence, according to the Commission, that polygamy is on the decrease, partly on account of the increase in the male population, and partly because, owing to the higher cost of living and the loss of cattle through plague, the native finds himself unable to maintain more than one establishment. The diminution of this practice is also ascribed to contact with European modes of life.

The administration of land laws and the consideration of individual tenure, the delimitation and management of native locations, and many other interesting matters in connection with native life, habits, and government are exhaustively reviewed in the Report, but as they are not essentially associated with the aspects of the native problem that I have set myself to examine, I will not follow the Commissioners in their investigations, and merely mention them to emphasise still further the immense work they accomplished and the exhaustive nature of their enquiries.

But the object of this chapter would not be complete without making some references to the Ethiopian movement. The Commission, in their opening remarks upon this subject, describe the movement as having had its origin in the desire on a part of a section of the Christianised natives "to be freed from control by European Churches," and they proceed to state that there is very little or no doctrinal divergence from the tenets of the parent Church, "though it is alleged, and the Commission fears with truth, that relaxed strictness in the moral standard maintained frequently follows."

In the resolution which they passed, the Commissioners briefly expressed the following opinions: Firstly, that the movement was the outcome of a desire on the part of the natives for ecclesiastical self-support and self-control, "first taking tangible form in the secession of discontented and restless spirits from religious bodies under the supervision of European missionaries without any previous external incitation thereto. Further, that upon the affiliation of certain of these seceders and their followings to the African Methodist Episcopal Church, lamentable want of discrimination was displayed by the first emissaries to South Africa in the ordination to the ministry of unsuitable men." Secondly, they are "not disposed

to condemn the aspiration of religious independence, unassociated with mischievous political propaganda," and although they express some misgiving as to the effect of such an aspiration, misdirected by the leadership of ignorant and misguided men, they do not advise repression, because it may sow the seeds of racial distrust and discontent. Thirdly, they express concern that many of the persons prominently connected with the movement have not been possessed of characteristics fitted "to foster and direct the fledgling ideals of a people just emerging from ignorance and barbarism into a state of semi-enlightenment." Fourthly, they would only advise any measure of legislative repression if unforeseen developments render it necessary.

At one time the movement appeared to contain the germs of a very serious political nature, and some of the speeches delivered at the Missionary Conferences held in Johannesburg in July 1904 point to the destructive nature of the movement, alike from the ecclesiastical standpoint and from that concerned with the native attitude towards the white man. Some of the black ministers, sent over from America to establish a branch of their church in South Africa, undoubtedly poisoned the native mind in both directions. I am informed, however, on unimpeachable authority, that the black bishop, representing the African Methodist Episcopal Church, stated to the Commissioners that on his return to America he would recommend their withdrawal from South Africa, where he did not consider there was a good field for their labour. Holding in view the extremely backward condition of the South African native and the rapidly declining power of the chiefs, any Society tending to bind together widely different and inimical tribes under a common title would be in the highest degree undesirable. Internal dissension amongst the natives appointed to carry on

the work initiated from America, led to a schism and a recapture by the Church of England of a section of the Ethiopians. While no doubt this section is now under some measure of control, the seeds of mischief have undoubtedly been sown, and the Archbishop of Capetown, in agreeing to the seceding African Methodist Episcopals becoming members of the Church of England under the title of the Order of Ethiopia, seems to have been guilty of an act of doubtful prudence. He might have insisted upon their joining the Church as ordinary members, for, having successfully resisted a claim on the part of some of the seceders to be ordained in higher positions than that of deacon, it is obvious that there was a real anxiety upon their part to come again under the dominion of the English Church, and presumably, therefore, they would have done so without being recognised under any distinctive title. The Americans who visited South Africa were prepared to, and did, bestow higher offices upon native ministers.

Undoubtedly the intervention of the Americans endowed the movement at the beginning with a political as well as a religious significance, and the cry of "Africa for the Africans" was disseminated amongst the natives. Moreover, it is alleged that the Ethiopian Church, as directed by its prototype in America, excludes any white man from the fold. Both these provisions are distinctly hostile to the white man; the first, if it means anything, suggesting his expulsion or annihilation. It is impossible to say how far these insidious suggestions may have penetrated among the natives, because their intercourse is carried on with extraordinary secrecy; but in the face of the decreasing power of the chiefs, and the breaking down of the barriers that have separated the various tribes, any attempt in the direction of unifying native thought and possibly native action is to be deprecated.

Very little authentic information is obtainable outside that which was adduced before the Commission, and since as a result of their investigation no repressive legislation is at present advised, it may be taken that the existing knowledge of the movement does not furnish ground for serious alarm. The Commissioners, however, were clearly alive to the risk of unforeseen developments, because in their fourth recommendation they advise "that effort should rather be directed towards securing efficient constitutional control and organisation, in order that the influences at work may be wisely directed," than the adoption of restrictive measures. They are, however, strongly opposed to "the recognition of detached secessionary fragments acknowledging no efficient central authority."

Time will show whether the American Society will withdraw from South Africa or not. If it does, it is probable that all the natives will gradually yield obedience to one or other of the religious bodies working for their benefit in various parts of the country; but if, contrary to the anticipation of the black bishop, the withdrawal does not take place, and it should be found later that dangerous propaganda are being spread, drastic steps will have to be taken. The moral welfare of the native is not at present likely to be advanced by the indifferently trained and partially enlightened persons of his own colour, and though any inclination for independence of this description should not, by persecution, be raised into a real grievance, the first sign of seditious intent should be the signal for immediate legislative interference.

The native problem bristles with difficulties, no matter from what standpoint it is approached. It is, perhaps, well, in conclusion, to emphasise again the view prevalent among the masses in South Africa, that no political privileges of any description should

be conferred upon the natives. It is argued, even by some of the more thoughtful and representative men, that every effort should be made to avert their education in the art and power of combination. It is obviously undesirable to teach the natives how to organise for common action, and it is in this respect that a rallying cry, such as that which might easily be raised through the medium of Ethiopianism, is pregnant with danger, since it would tend to undermine the authority of the chiefs, who, under the tribal system, tend to preserve the rivalry and exclusiveness that is traditional among the different tribes. Assuming that it be decided to bestow a measure of representation upon the natives through white men elected by them, the native constituencies would be very large, embracing in many instances more than one tribe, because it would be regarded as dangerous to have many members of the Legislature in occupation of seats through the native vote. It is improbable that men representing the aborigines would all belong to one political party, but if they were allowed to become numerous they might, by uniting, hold the balance of power in the Legislature, which would certainly be objectionable, and might be regarded by the white inhabitants as intolerable.

In the delimitation of the native electoral areas, and in the provisions governing the elections, it would be necessary to adopt a system calculated to have the minimum effect in creating a common cause among rival tribes. It would be premature here to discuss in detail any of the arrangements which prudence would dictate, the object being rather to consider principles than methods of procedure, although the latter will unquestionably be of great importance, and will require very intelligent consideration and treatment. South Africans are apt to cite India as an instance of natives having no right to vote under a British Administra-

tion, but the case is in no sense parallel, because the Government of the Indian Empire is despotic, and the white inhabitants, as well as the natives, are not endowed with political privileges. A similar system of Government for the South African Empire would have much to recommend it, taking all the circumstances into account, but it is necessary to consider the situation as it is, and not as it might be. In that country the white inhabitants are particularly jealous of their rights, and are peculiarly sensitive as to any undue interference. Seeing that a federation of the different South African colonies is admitted to be desirable, under which the white inhabitants would become entirely self-governing, and that its accomplishment is probably only a question of time, it is essential to decide upon a native policy.

The South African Native Affairs Commission recommends that the natives should be accorded a measure of representation under certain restrictions, and although the finding is not likely to meet with popular favour in South Africa, it will be probably found in the end to have been wise, and will sooner or later be adopted. Having regard to the condition of affairs in Cape Colony, and to political changes in the new colonies, the time for action would appear to be at hand. Those who are opposed to the bestowal of any rights upon the natives should remember that in this twentieth century the world will look with the gravest disfavour, even if it would tolerate, the holding down of any men in bondage as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The theory that no rights should be conferred, because it will teach the natives to organise, does not seem very well founded, because any danger that may be apprehended in the future would be far more likely to arise from their having a just grievance than from their having had an opportunity of publicly ventilating it. Given the cause and the occasion, the

lack of organisation has never stood in the way of rebellion. Recent events in Russia offer a striking object lesson, for there the oppressed, but disregarded, teeming millions of peasants have suddenly awakened to an appreciation of their power, their wrongs, and their wishes, and an organisation appears to have sprung into being with marvellous rapidity. The cases of the peasant in Russia and of the aboriginal in South Africa are in many respects dissimilar, particularly in the respect that the former belong to the same race as their ruler; but it is admitted that their ignorance is scarcely less profound than that of the South African native, they have never been privileged to enjoy any of the rights of citizenship, and yet there seems to have been considerable cohesion in their revolt against tyranny.

Broadly speaking, the cause of peace, progress, and enlightenment in South Africa depends upon a not unfriendly relationship between the white and the black inhabitants. The latter are fully conscious of their inferiority, and will not resent being frankly told that their share in the government of the country is to be limited. To give them some recognition will tend to secure their good-will; to refuse to recognise them at all must inevitably breed their enmity. How, when, or in what manner the latter would become manifest will depend upon circumstances, but it does not seem reasonable to suppose that lack of organisation, or absence of education in that art, would prevent the inevitable consequences, probably at the most awkward moment. Whether the white men acquiesce and assist or not in the education of the natives, the expansion of industry, and the resulting increase of intercourse between the black and white races, are providing an education of the most effective description—that attributable to contact and observation.

Leaving the moral aspect of the question entirely

aside, and looking at it purely from the standpoint of expediency, there is the strongest ground for proceeding upon lines that will appeal to the sense of justice in the native mind, if they do not entirely satisfy their aspirations. The effect of any legislation can only be demonstrated in practice, and the most prudent course, therefore, will probably be that which combines a friendly and benevolent attitude towards the natives, with restrictions imposed without disguise to safeguard the ascendency of the white races.

# CHAPTER VI

## BOERS AND BRITONS

To approach the political situation in the Transvaal without clearly understanding its people, would be like judging an unframed picture in a bad light, and against an unsuitable background. The complexity of the situation is accentuated not only by the presence of the coloured inhabitants, but by the strong lines of demarcation which unfortunately separate the white races. Every one with a spark of love for South Africa must hope that the gulf dividing Boers and Britons may gradually narrow and ultimately disappear, but the most ardent longing in this direction will be useless unless the true position is understood. Long-standing maladies may yield to scientific treatment, but to quackery—never.

It is hopeless, for example, to expect the Boers to accept the position, and to settle down contentedly as permanent subjects of the British Empire, so long as they believe there is any fair chance of pre-war conditions becoming at any time restored. The improbability of success, and the remoteness of the possible change, would not stand in the way, for they are gifted with a remarkable tenacity of purpose, they know how to wait, and the inherent difficulties would rather be a reason for dogged perseverance than for desistence. It is blindness of the most fatal kind to ignore this fact, because it is the blindness that *will* not see.

Some of their leaders declare that the spirit of Krugerism is dead, and that under no conditions could the reactionary principles of that *régime* be revived. If that be true, it is already a considerable stride in the direction of reconciliation; but it is necessary in so serious a matter to be guided by something more than a mere expression of opinion, never infallible, or by assertions of interested persons which should always be tested by the light of surrounding circumstances. In any case, the statement, even if true, means little, since the gap between the present system and the old oligarchical days is too immense to be crossed, and recognition of the fact need not imply any loyal acceptance of the new *régime*. As the essential thing is to go forward, and not to slip back, it becomes mere common prudence to sift the facts with diligence, to compare them with the lessons of history, and to form conclusions upon a logical foundation.

Much has been written about the Boers and their relations with the later settlers; their habits, customs, and characteristics; their mode of life in times of peace, and their conduct in the field of battle; and South African history furnishes the reasons that have from time to time caused strife and bloodshed between them and the paramount power. But, in spite of possible repetition, and the recalling of circumstances still more or less distinct in the recollection of the reader, a short reference to some of the personal aspects of the subject will contribute to a more intelligent grasp of the wider and more vital political problem.

For the purpose of making a clear division between the two sections of the white population with which this chapter deals, I have adopted a comprehensive heading, but this must not be interpreted upon rigid racial lines. By Boers are meant the enfranchised

burghers of the State in the days of the South African Republic, by Britons the unenfranchised Uitlanders. The latter comprised a body of Europeans of various nationalities and creeds, as well as those Africanders of Dutch and English origin who were excluded from the pale of voters. Although the term Briton would apply accurately to by far the larger proportion of the persons referred to, it is used as denoting a section having common interests and ideas, and not in a literal sense.

The Boer, by reason of his descent and history, is a strong man, and should be treated as such, and he has the defects of his qualities. Looking back upon his past, and remembering, on the one hand, his ancestry, the Huguenot exiled from home and country on account of his religious convictions, and the Dutch tradesman and small official of the seventeenth century with Calvinistic training, as well as the ordinary ne'er-do-weel; and on the other, his struggle for existence, his isolated life, and his battle against savages and wild beasts, it is not surprising to find in South Africa the survival of a class that exists nowhere else—the Puritan of two hundred years ago.

The Boer is made of the same hard stuff that proved in Cromwell and his Ironsides strong enough to subvert a monarchy, and that in New England caused the beginnings of a nation that has become one of the most freedom-loving upon earth. But the large admixture of Gallic with the Teutonic blood that flows in his veins has produced characteristics that differ widely from those of his Dutch ancestors, and find expression in an order of intelligence and a subtlety somewhat resembling that found to-day in the French nation.

Early contact with the cunning Hottentots of the Cape Colony, constant liability to sudden attacks from them and the Kaffirs, which they met and defeated

by adopting similar tactics,—a veritable battle of wits in the realms of deceit,—and association with savages for many generations, necessarily resulted in the absorption of some of their opponents' qualities, including a limited regard for the truth and a tendency to dissemble.

In the early days their ancestors were not seldom murdered in cold blood by the natives, after being trapped by treacherous stratagems, and they had to hold their own against tremendous odds; small wonder then that, having become masters, they ruled rigorously and at times ferociously, or that, remembering those massacres, they still entertain feelings of deep hostility towards the natives. Such experiences, and the privations endured in their early *treks*, have made them the self-reliant, practical, and hardy race they are; but the lessons learnt in the fighting of those days are traceable in their point of view to-day, and in their being somewhat lax as to the methods they employ in the ordinary affairs of life.

Among the better classes, *slimheit* takes the form of a humorous delight in getting the better of the foreigner, particularly of the Englishman, who, it must be confessed, assumed an air of superiority in the early days that made him a natural butt; but among many of the rank and file of the nation, that quality, which is a form of acuteness akin to sharp practice, has developed into downright dishonesty. It must be remembered that in the Transvaal the ignorant Boer has come in contact with a low class of Europeans, particularly those visiting his farm as itinerant traders, or acting as middlemen for the sale of his produce, and before the seventies he rarely met with Europeans at all.

The particular qualities that the Boer owes to his mixed Teutonic and French ancestry have been strengthened by the lonely life of the South African farm, which accounts for the survival of characteristics

that would have disappeared in a more enlightened environment. His religion, for instance, which takes so large a place in his daily life, adheres in much to the rigid formulæ of Puritan times, and looks with a stern eye upon innocent pleasures, such as theatre-going and dancing, without shielding him from many grave moral evils. The mental stagnation, of which circumstances have made him the victim, causes him to miss the higher spirit that has permeated the social life of Europe, and has left him with a doctrine that has lost most of its influence upon his line of conduct.

But in spite of his limitations, his narrow prejudices, and his many unadmirable traits, his natural intelligence is virile; he possesses a highly developed sense of independence and self-respect; and is endowed, moreover, with a spirit of real kindness and true hospitality to strangers, a vein of humour entirely his own, and a love of liberty according to his own interpretation, which together constitute a type of man whom education, in and out of school, and the softening influences of time under progressive conditions, will assuredly render a valuable member of society.

For many years before 1881, a year which gave an impetus to their national aspirations, the Boers despised Englishmen fresh from home because they could not manage a team of oxen, the inspanning of which requires no small skill, or wield the huge whips by which they are driven, and generally because they were, so to speak, children in the *veld*, and in combating all the difficulties which are everyday matters to the rural Africander. The Englishman, in turn, laughed at the Boer for his primitive ways and lack of culture, and thus there came into being an antagonism founded chiefly upon mutual misconception. Their interests were in reality identical, because the new-comer created a market for the produce of the

farmer, and provided employment for him and his teams of mules and oxen without invading his sphere of operations, devoting himself to occupations of which the Boer had no knowledge, and in which he had no desire to excel.

The differences in language, customs, and habits, coupled with an absence of forbearance on both sides, and want of consideration for susceptibilities, caused the Boer to look askance at the Briton, and the latter to become confirmed in his opinion that the former was taciturn and unfriendly, both being content, in consequence, to restrict intercourse to their respective necessities. This deplorable personal estrangement is in no small degree responsible for the more serious political animosity that caused numberless disputes and fights, and that grew in magnitude up to the outbreak of the late war. At present the Boer probably hates the colonist as completely as he ever did, but, on the other hand, he has established for himself in the mind of the latter, a position of respect, non-existent in pre-war days, owing to the pluck and whole-heartedness with which he fought. This is a step in the right direction, but no sudden obliteration of the angry recollection of recent events can be expected. In a fresh start, based upon mutual respect, there is an ultimate hope for an understanding, especially if a little patience be exercised on both sides.

It is late in the day to consider whether "the spirit of peace imported into war," in the shape of the Concentration Camps, was justified or not by the unique circumstances of the case. That it failed in its immediate object is undeniable. Finding that the women were tilling the soil and running the farms in the absence of their male relatives, to whom they were able to give shelter and supplies, as well as valuable information from time to time, Lord Kitchener decided to form camps, to which he removed them and their

children. There they were placed in tents, fed and protected—particularly against the wandering Kaffir, who had become a danger to them. Many instances are on record of horrible occurrences on isolated farms, and of women voluntarily going to the British camps for protection, but the critics of Lord Kitchener's action never acknowledge this aspect of the case. That they suffered discomforts and annoyances may well have been the case, but in no sense were these comparable to the privations, and even horrors, that would have fallen to their lot if the war had been prosecuted with justifiable ruthlessness. The work of collecting the families and establishing the camps was a slow process, and added greatly to the difficulties of the army, putting an added strain upon the commissariat and the transport. Besides this, it gave the Boers more liberty of action in their guerilla tactics, and relieved them from anxiety about their families. It led to a more complete exhaustion of the two countries, but undoubtedly effected a saving of Boer lives. The Boers, however, have never recognised that it was a humane policy, designed to lessen the loss of life amongst their people, and to make them feel, at the conclusion of hostilities, that England had behaved with singular consideration.

Any other power, finding the non-combatants flagrantly breaking the rules of war, would have carried fire and destruction through the land, and have left the population to shift for itself. They would certainly not have put an additional tax upon their army and resources, and have given their enemies additional staying power by guarding their families and keeping them from starvation. The Boer is either unacquainted with, or deliberately ignores, this aspect of the case, possibly to avoid giving Great Britain credit for any praiseworthy conduct. The mention of the Concentration Camps is the signal for an indignant outburst at the way they were conducted.

A review of the speeches of the Boers, and their general attitude since the declaration of peace, leads to the conclusion, however reluctant one may be to recognise it, that they do not appreciate the consideration shown to them and their families during the war, nor the earnest efforts to re-establish them upon the land since. This regrettable state of affairs arises from a cause not understood in England, viz.: that the terms gratitude and conciliation find no place in the Boer vocabulary.

They respect power and justice, but whatever is given to them for nothing they accept as their right, and whatever is done to win their goodwill is attributed to fear. When they held undisputed sway in the Transvaal they made no pretence of conciliation, but, on the contrary, loudly proclaimed their dominance, and were ever ready to remind the Uitlander that they had the guns! Characteristics of this kind do not change suddenly, and it is probable, if they had the power, that they would rule in precisely the same fashion again. A partnership, involving any self-sacrifice of a give and take order, is not yet within their comprehension. I am "baas" ("master") or you are "baas"—that is their mental attitude. They hold in utter contempt anything in the shape of obsequiousness, being eminently manly in spirit as in physique. Judged by refined European standards they cannot be said to belong to a high type of civilisation, but they are also free from certain civilised failings.

Their conception of independence is the monopoly of Government by themselves. The vast majority of them are to-day ignorant, unprogressive, and lazy, quite content to live as their ancestors did in the crudest fashion at the minimum expenditure of labour, and without a trace of ambition to advance in the social scale. This is due to a number of circumstances, of which the principle are (*a*) the absence of markets for

their produce, for in old days there were no centres of population, and (*b*) the disheartening effects upon agricultural and pastoral pursuits of the droughts, hail storms, and blights, and of the pests and endemic diseases affecting horses, cattle, and sheep, against the ravages of which they were unarmed with any scientific knowledge.

In the face of these disadvantages it is not extraordinary that the spirit of enterprise should have become extinct, and that they should have sunk into an apathetic state, producing only the barest needs of existence. Terrible as the war has been in its temporary effects upon the country, it has had a marked effect upon the fine race whose energies had been dormant for the best part of two centuries. The activity into which the lethargic Boer was stirred during hostilities, and the hard struggle for sustenance in which he has since been engaged, must prove ultimately beneficial both to him and to the country.

Amongst the Dutch there are naturally some enlightened and emancipated men, belonging to the educated and professional classes, who are both brilliant and honourable, but they form a very small proportion of the whole. The majority, though gifted with very keen perceptions and common-sense of no mean order, are illiterate, and are possessed of many of the undesirable qualities that go with that defect. The less admirable traits in their character are, I believe, not very deep-rooted. Environment is a very potent factor in the moulding of character, and when due consideration is given to the conditions in which they have lived, their defects are not only explained, but almost justified.

When that is said, however, and when every excuse is made for their shortcomings, it is necessary to emphasise their existence, or we are apt to idealise the Boers and to be oblivious of failings which it is

imperative to hold in view in describing or in dealing with them. There is a great tendency on the part of many people who do not know them well to magnify their tenacity of purpose into heroism, and their political selfishness into love of freedom. I cannot too strongly emphasise the fact that the love of liberty, as it is understood by Englishmen, forms no part of their creed, except as an exclusive privilege for themselves, and it were folly to ignore this essential characteristic.

It is highly probable that fair treatment and contact with straightforward British men and methods will in time eradicate the unlovable qualities of the Boers, and with this object in view, it is of paramount importance to employ, as minor officials, men who know them and can sympathise with their idiosyncrasies. The petty official in the past, unfamiliar either with the country or the people, has often been the cause of much misunderstanding and heart-burning, through an excessive display of misguided zeal, extremely vexatious to those who have suffered under it.

Considering all things, it is not surprising that after the triumph of 1881 their attitude towards Englishmen became arrogant and contemptuous. During the intervening seventeen years between our withdrawal from the Transvaal and the outbreak of war in 1899, all non-burghers of that state, including men born in South Africa of partially Dutch origin, were regarded as of small account, and were actually treated as members of an inferior race. It is useless to ignore this deplorable, though undeniable, fact, as it explains an attitude of mind on the part of the Uitlander population, of which traces are still visible. I refer to the excessive consideration paid to Boer susceptibilities. There is a vast difference between steps deliberately taken to wound or humiliate and a self-respecting indifference to their opinion upon matters in regard to which they have no claim to speak with any authority.

No language is too strong to condemn any proceedings tending to preserve or accentuate race animosities, such as festivities, or blowing of trumpets, upon Ladysmith Day, or upon Mafeking, or any other eventful day (although we suffered celebrations upon Majuba Day for many years), because they are senseless demonstrations that excite national feelings and antipathies; but any hesitancy to proclaim a whole-hearted allegiance to the British Empire and the Crown, or admiration for, or adhesion to, British institutions, is in the last degree mischievous, and betrays the remains of that servitude under which British subjects were held during the Kruger *régime*.

The Boers are, in the first place, by no means an ultra-sensitive people, and, in the second place, should be educated as speedily as possible to the change in political conditions, by which they will enjoy equal, but not preferential, treatment. The necessities of the case in bygone years caused the hand of friendship to be extended to them unduly, and in those times they either refused to see it or somewhat rudely rejected it. The unenfranchised inhabitants became accustomed to snubs, and paid little heed to them; but the state of subjection has left its mark, and the sooner this mark is completely erased the sooner will the races join hands in mutual respect.

It would be quixotic to imagine that the Boers can suddenly banish their long-fostered hatred of the later settler. Any such pretence could only be hypocritical, and the dangerous doctrine preached by some persons that it is good policy to conciliate the Boers by conceding points which should not be conceded, is, in reality, the worst policy imaginable. The dictates of common-sense, supported by past experience, should be an effective shield against any deferential attitude, which, so far from securing their thanks, would inevitably incur their contempt.

No more graphic presentation of the situation is possible than that conveyed by the words of Lord Milner[1] at the farewell banquet in Johannesburg, and I make no apology for quoting his masculine commonsense:—

"Some people say, 'Oh! unless you grant complete autonomy at once, the Boers will have nothing to do with your system. They have told you so, and where will you be then?' Well, in the first place, I don't believe for a moment that they will have nothing to do with it. I don't believe that they will put themselves so completely in the wrong as they would do by refusing to join with their British fellow-citizens on terms of perfect equality in the management of the affairs of their common country, merely because a stereotyped resolution to that effect has been passed at a series of meetings. And, even if they did, though I should regret it, though I should feel that the progress of the country was thereby seriously retarded, I should still not think that the end of the world had come. If one section of the population refuses to play the game because the rules were not exactly in all particulars what suited themselves, the natural answer would seem to me to be: 'If you don't want to play, sit out. We can play without you, and you can always come in when you are tired of sitting!' To my mind it is a dangerous principle; that it is not the opinion of the impartial statesmen who have shown themselves good friends of this colony, but the opinion of a Boer Junta which ought to determine what ought to be done. The policy I would venture to recommend to those who are responsible for the government of this colony, or of any South African colony, is a somewhat different one. By all means treat Dutch and British with perfect equality. The time has gone for ever and a day when we had two classes of white men in this country—a privileged and unprivileged class. I say, treat all men equally; try to forget as far as possible differences of origin, show the same solicitude, the same zeal, for every class, for every neighbourhood, regardless of which section of the population predominates within it; but, having done that, await with patience until equality of treatment and community of interest slowly, but surely, produce their inevitable result. You can do nothing more to hasten the consummation which you desire.

[1] 31st March 1905.

"Perhaps, while on this subject, I may be allowed to say, without offence, that I think we British are apt to be rather too fussy about the attitude of the Boers. It is, no doubt, disappointing that whatever we do the other party maintain an attitude of aloofness—I will not say of sullenness—but, after all, is that not very much what you might have expected? After all, three years is a very short time in the history of a country. It is a mistake to keep on girding at them because they do not express a friendliness which they cannot as yet reasonably be expected altogether to feel. But it is no less a mistake, in my humble opinion, trying to coax them by offering them something more than they are entitled to—something that we know in our own hearts that we ought not to give. Courtesy and consideration—for they are natural feelings—always; compromise on questions of principle, and suppression of our own natural and legitimate sentiments—never. There is a want of wisdom—worse still, there is a want of self-respect—in that sort of kowtowing, which is the last way to impress or to win over a strong, a shrewd, and an eminently self-respecting people. Mutual understanding, sympathy, a common ideal, must be the growth of years; but in the meantime there is much to be done in working together for the material development of the country. That is the safest sort of meeting ground."

Here you have the mature view of the man of all others who has had the best opportunities of studying the people of whom he speaks, expressed in the course of his valedictory speech prior to relinquishing office, and with the obvious intention of leaving behind him the soundest advice in his power.

The essential point to bear in mind is that the aspiration to regain at the polls what has been lost upon the field of battle is still alive, and will certainly survive until the Boers become convinced that they control a minority of votes only, and that a struggle upon those lines is hopeless. Then it is probable they will abandon what is known among them as high politics, and divide upon internal questions in accordance with their opinions, allowing the race question to disappear.

It is fashionable with a section of the British population to talk about trusting the Boers, and the high-mindedness of the suggestion appeals to every one, but it is always necessary to put a wise curb upon generosity, for an over indulgence in instincts of that order is not wholesome in politics. To endow the Boer, three years after he has been in arms against the British nation, with rights equal to those of her own citizens is no illiberal concession; to surrender to him the keys of the political citadel, so far from having the effect of winning his goodwill, as the optimists believe, would probably have the effect of reducing the non-Boer population to the position of ignominious inferiority they occupied prior to the war.

The Boers have thus far sullenly abstained from taking any share in the work of reorganising the administration, although invited to do so, but, during the control by the Crown, preferred to be critical spectators watching for mistakes, out of which capital might be made in the future. Now that representative institutions are in sight, they have begun their preparations, and have already started a clamour for ampler concessions.

The Dutch party have taken to preaching the doctrine of brotherhood, "the welfare of the whole of the population and entire country," and their desire to work with the new-comers, but it behoves us to scan their pronouncements with scrupulous care, so that, on the one hand, sincere advances may not be rejected, or, on the other, false professions of amity accepted. Boer absence from the farewell banquet given to Lord Milner is not to be wondered at for obvious reasons, but their position was nevertheless scarcely logical, as some of their leading men (among whom I may mention General Louis Botha, General J. H. de la Rey, General Piet Cronje, and General J. C. Smuts) attended the garden party in honour of Mr Chamberlain,

whom it would appear reasonable to have placed in the same category.

They certainly refrain from attending public functions of every description given by, or in honour of, the chief resident officers of the Crown, and one of their number, to whom I spoke upon the subject, said: "If we consorted with the other side we should lose our influence completely with our own people." It is a statement which calls for consideration. If they really desired to let "bygones be bygones," and to co-operate with their fellow British subjects, what better means of giving substance to their professions than that of beginning with social contact? Personal intercourse and social amenities would exercise considerable influence in smoothing the rough edges, and, as the Boer leaders must know, in promoting a better understanding between the races. The opportunities have been frequently offered without success, which suggests the natural inference that they have good reason for their action, and desire to preserve the strongly marked dividing lines. As they paid their respects to Mr Chamberlain, and have taken part in the greeting to Lord Selborne, it is not, perhaps, valueless to scrutinise their motives, which, before the tribunal of common-sense, appear very clear.

They approach new officials, hoping to impress them with their reasonable attitude, but unless they find them malleable, become immediately less attentive. In conversation they are friendly enough, and profess to believe that the differences separating them from their British fellow subjects are not great. "We could settle the whole trouble in half an hour. All we want is a little consideration." This is a very common expression upon their lips. But what they really want is an independent South Africa, as they always did, and the only way to induce them to abandon that aspiration is to tell them without

equivocation that they will enjoy equal privileges under the flag, but have no chance of preferential treatment.

The relations between the races will change in time, but not until the Boers recognise that their monopoly of the right to rule has gone for ever, and that partnership does not mean that either party is "baas," but involves joint labour for the common good. Before the war all the courting was done by the British section of the population, and it proved of no avail. Since the war the Boers have not manifested the least inclination to follow suit—rather the reverse, indeed—and it remains for Englishmen to take good note of this fact, and to remember, that though the storm has burst there are still thunder-clouds floating about the horizon, and it is not safe to go out without a waterproof.

No one can guess at the causes that may unite the white races. Some people say a serious native war of such magnitude as to threaten the white civilisation. God forbid that any such calamity should be needed! We have seen in recent times a marvellous transformation in the relations between France and England. Here were two nations, regarded as traditional enemies, suddenly brought together by an interchange of courtesies. Surrounding circumstances were propitious, it is true, but there is no ground for saying that a similar opening with the same result may not present itself in South Africa.

It cannot be achieved by pandering to the Dutch, but by pursuing a straightforward, fearless policy; by avoiding any temptation to be weak or vacillating; by giving heed to legitimate wishes while refusing to yield to insidious demands; by aiding their material advancement, and resisting untenable claims; by asserting the right of the conqueror without oppression; and by governing firmly and justly—not by allowing the vanquished to magnify the "terms of surrender" into

"a treaty of peace," or by acceding to every demand upon their part to dictate as a matter of right upon affairs where their opinion could only be asked as a matter of grace.

Recovery from the grave, economic wounds must be slow, but as they heal, so may the distrust and dislike of Boer for Briton fade, and the causes that keep them asunder, many of which are rooted in ignorance and misconception, being therefore rather imaginary than real, give place to mutual respect and amity, linked by the powerful bond of a common interest.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE GENESIS OF PARTIES

IN the beginning of the year 1904, owing to the continued state of depression, agitation for political reform began. Poverty and slack times are the strongest allies of political discontent, and it is not, therefore, surprising that some of the men whose daily affairs had ceased to occupy all their time, or failed to provide sufficient food for their reflections, diverted their attention to the acts of the Administration, which they condemned upon very scanty information. The period of sustained inactivity, which bordered at times upon crisis, fostered an unreasonable censoriousness towards the Government. The time-worn expedient was adopted of transferring to the shoulders of the ruling powers the misfortunes or ineptitude of a suffering people.

Prosperity and commercial activity would have robbed agitators of their occupation. Persons having a substantial stake in the country, endowed, as a rule, with greater powers of observation, attributed the depression to its proper cause, a contraction of mining operations due to the shortness in the supply of manual labour, and recognised that the Government was giving every possible assistance to meet that difficulty in the face of obstacles that may be fitly described as stupendous. From talks in the clubs, at restaurants, and at street corners, in the course of which the dissatisfied section of the population expatiated upon the delinquencies of an effete Administration, to the organisation of public meet-

ings is not a long journey. And so, before the middle of the year, meetings were held, political associations were born, and Lord Milner was made aware that, in the opinion of the malcontents, the salvation of the country lay in the granting of a wider measure of popular representation.

It is interesting in this connection to quote a few memorable words of his at the farewell banquet given to him in Johannesburg. "I am afraid that those who think that popular elections and a party system are the panacea for all the defects from which your Government suffers are destined to singular disappointment. To be quite frank, I do not believe that either your Administration or your finances will be in any way improved, more than they would have been improved in any case by existing influences, owing to the introduction of the new system." Whether his prophecy is destined to prove false or true, he does not stand alone in his doubts, and we shall probably find, in the course of our investigation of the political situation, that the elements are by no means harmonious, and that the new institutions will cause a great deal of rancour without offering any guarantee that the last state will be better than the first.

The people of Johannesburg are as intelligent, or possibly more so, than any other community of similar size in the world, and it is not difficult to discover the reasons. Firstly, men who have had the courage to leave their own country and try their fortunes in a new land show qualities of enterprise that lift them above those who are content to plough the furrow in which circumstance has placed them. Secondly, most of the new-comers have to strike out a line for themselves. Thirdly, the nature of their occupation, not being cut and dried, forces them to use their brains in a more original manner than is demanded in the settled walks of life. Fourthly, the rarefied air in that wonderful

climate stimulates the vital energy to an unusual degree. There is an independence of spirit and a "go" about the people which is apparent to every one who visits the place. The high development of these qualities engenders a business-like capacity for dealing with any problems that arise, but does not provide an education in politics or in the art of government, and it would only be possible at present to select a very limited number of men, to whom a department of the Administration could be entrusted with confidence. The extreme difficulty and the technical skill needed in running the machinery of the State—the highest of all occupations—do not debar a great many men, who have little or no acquaintance with a task of that order, from taking up a strong attitude, and showing by their talk that the responsibility would not appal them.

The British section of the population, divided in its opinion as to the form of Government it desired to see established, split into two sections—one in favour of Representative institutions as a first step, and the other in favour of the immediate grant of full Responsible Government. Meanwhile the Boers were not idle. They summoned a Congress, which began its sittings at Pretoria on the 23rd May 1904. Extracts from its proceedings will be found in Appendix B.

In order to clearly follow the political developments, it is advisable to trace briefly the work of the different factions, which very soon led to the establishment of three distinct parties.

A study of the speeches delivered at the Boer Congress shows that the Boers, though many expressed themselves in terms of studied propriety, had little but fault to find with the acts of the Government. General Louis Botha, who delivered the opening address, praised the vigorous steps taken to prevent the spread of Rhodesian tick fever, and admonished his hearers for not treating the disease seriously enough, and for not

co-operating to prevent its spread. He went on to urge upon the Government the employment of a large number of the indigent Boers in the Civil Service and in the police force, as well as the distribution among them of draught cattle, which he believed to be still available. He protested against the importation of Chinese on the ground that it would rob the white labourer of his livelihood, and drive the natives, "who are large tax-payers, and deserve to be worked up to higher services," out of the labour market, urging, moreover, that "the Chinese would introduce their pernicious morals amongst the natives, and, like leeches, drain the money from the country." His consideration for the white labourers, most of whom, from his point of view, are foreigners, and for the natives, does not accord very well with past experience of the Boer policy, and his fear as to the Chinese draining the money from the country has already been proved to be groundless. He claimed more rights for owners under the diamond law, and objected to any alteration of the gold law until full Responsible Government had been granted. He stated that in nothing had the farmers been more deeply disappointed than in the compensation which they "had expected to have been paid immediately after the conclusion of peace." He described the Repatriation Commission as too costly, and declared that millions of money were spent, "which millions were not used for the purpose intended, namely, assistance to the farmers for repatriation purposes." He objected to any tax being laid upon the country in connection with the £30,000,000 war contribution until full Responsible Government had been granted, though he declared that he had no objection to the country being burdened with a debt of £30,000,000, "provided a reasonable compensation out of this amount were paid for losses suffered during the war to all who have actually suffered damages during hostilities." He

found fault with the Government in regard to education, and advocated a reduction of the tax upon natives squatting upon farms occupied by whites, leaving untouched the tax of 40s. per head on natives living in locations. He made also an eloquent plea for Responsible Government, but left it an open question as to whether the Boers would co-operate or not, asserting that their action would depend upon the nature of the Constitution.

He was followed by Mr Schalk Burger, who made an eloquent and reasonable speech, which calls for no comment. During the next day much of the time of the Congress was occupied with the consideration of the cattle plague and the case of indigent Boers. Mr Schalk Burger made a speech, on this occasion, complaining of the Government's action in regard to claims under the head of compensation, in which he referred to the terms of surrender, which are given in full in Appendix C, as the "Peace of Vereeniging," a definition which it is well to note.

At the evening sitting, some rather violent speeches were made in regard to placing the Boer children in English schools, by General J. C. Smuts, by General De la Rey, by General Tobias Smuts, and by General Beyers, the most bitter of all the speeches being delivered by Mr Pos of Waterberg, who spoke in high Dutch, and is presumably, therefore, a Hollander. He stated that "the Government teachers taught the children scandalous things. He had never dreamt that any Christian nation could ever teach the children of another nation such terrible things." Nonsense of this description is scarcely worth recording, but it indicates the spirit and the general tendency of the discussion, which aimed at having their own educational system if possible.

Mr A. D. W. Wolmarans, in opposing a war-tax, said: "If a tax had to be paid it should have been laid

down in the Vereeniging *treaty*."[1] Finally, on the motion of Mr S. W. Burger, seconded by General Smuts, it was unanimously agreed, "that this meeting repeat the protest made to Mr Chamberlain in January, 1903, and that it be the people's deputation[2] against the levying of a war-tax on this country before Responsible Government is granted; at the same time expressing the opinion that the war-tax should be levied for the purpose of granting reasonable compensation for the damages inflicted during the war." A long discussion then took place upon the Native Question, in which the policy of the late Government was defended, and the Ethiopian mission was criticised. A plea was also raised for permission to carry arms for the purpose of protection. At the afternoon meeting of the Congress, Mr Munnik and Mr Esselen urged the necessity for organisation. During the discussion on stock diseases Mr Lombard made a violent attack upon the Government, for which he was called to order by the Chairman, but, nothing daunted, the speaker returned to the charge. No further notice appears to have been taken.

At the conclusion of the Congress a deputation, consisting of delegates appointed by the various committees, waited upon Sir Arthur Lawley. General Botha made a moderate speech, and the various delegates approached His Excellency upon the subjects dealt with in a proper spirit. The Lieutenant-Governor replied in a long speech, meeting all the points raised. He pointed out that the British Government had already shown that they did not intend to force the war debt of £30,000,000 upon the country at a time when they considered it could ill afford to bear it. He made a very clear statement

[1] The italics are not in the original. They are used to emphasise the word.

[2] An error has evidently crept either into the original or the translation, but the intention is clear that the people's deputation received an injunction to request the question of war-tax to be deferred until after the grant of Responsible Government.

upon the subject of compensation, pointing out that though the Government had undertaken to spend £3,000,000, they had actually spent already over £10,000,000, of which, however, he stated, much was recoverable. The expenditure, further, was all directed to repairing the ravages of war, and to assisting the impoverished burghers to reinstate themselves. The Lieutenant-Governor showed very clearly how impossible it was to settle the claims rapidly :—"In many cases, I am sorry to say, they were of a fraudulent nature." On the subject of cattle disease he reviewed the active steps taken by the Government; upon the subject of education he was sympathetic. Referring to the institution of a system of free education, he pointed out how small local committees might prejudice the work, but signified his approval of committees drawn from large areas, and declared that Dutch was being used as the medium of instruction in the lower standards.

Having dealt with other matters he gave place to the Attorney-General, who discussed the subjects of the gold and diamond laws at considerable length. Questions were addressed to Sir Arthur Lawley, to which he replied, and at an evening sitting, final addresses were delivered by Messrs Botha and Schalk Burger, in which the Congress was referred to as having been a great success, and the Africander nation was described by General Botha as "a great nation indeed." Mr Schalk Burger said: "Leaving all political interference alone, their only object at present was the establishment of their nation which had struggled for three years to obtain its rights, which had sacrificed much, and which eventually submitted to God's will, and to God they should look for guidance, even under the present Government, and ask Him what they should do to re-establish this great nation of theirs. It had been proved by the Congress that they were still

of one opinion, willing to co-operate with one another and to fulfil their duty as Christians and loyal burghers of the State. They had heard to-day that the Government had given them another chance to negotiate with it." He ended with an earnest appeal to them to unite in brotherhood.

Nothing took place at this Congress which could not have been reasonably anticipated. That the Boers have suffered keenly cannot be disputed, but this would not justify the omission to consider their tactics in reviewing the whole situation. It has always been the Boer habit to whittle away as far as possible the force of any agreement entered into, and the way in which they referred at this meeting to the Terms of Surrender shows a disposition, which we shall find growing at a later stage, to endow that instrument with the significance of a treaty of peace.

Interest in politics became at this time very active, and the British section of the population manifested keen concern as to the nature of the change which it was generally realised would shortly take place. Efforts were made at the end of 1904, and early in 1905, to reconcile the views of the two parties, and some correspondence, subsequently published, took place, which it is interesting to reproduce.

In forwarding the correspondence to the Press, Mr C. M. Bell, the Assistant Secretary of the Johannesburg branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association, states that before the Transvaal Responsible Government Association had been created, the Progressive party of Johannesburg had formulated and published a definite programme, of which the following formed part:—

(*a*) The immediate fulfilment of the promise contained in the King's speech of 15th August last, by the establishment of Representative Government on liberal and fair lines, with a view to preparing the way for the

grant at as early a date as expedient of the freest and fullest form of Responsible Government.

(*b*) The recognition of the principle that all voters shall have the same privileges, and their votes the same value.

The following correspondence took place subsequently:—

JOHANNESBURG, 31*st December* 1904.

THE SECRETARY,
Transvaal Responsible Government Association.

DEAR SIR,—I am instructed by the Executive Committee of the Transvaal Progressive Association to inform your Association that, in view of the persistent rumour that the country districts are to have better representation than the towns under the new Constitution, our Association has decided to send a deputation to Lord Milner to urge strongly upon His Excellency the necessity of embodying in the Constitution the following principles:—

1. Equality of electoral districts on the basis of voters.
2. Automatic adjustment of representation periodically, according to fluctuations in the number of voters.

We feel that it is essential to have our electoral system at the outset made equitable for all sections of the community, and, as the principles involved in fixing the basis of representation apply equally to both forms of Government, my Committee is anxious to learn whether the Committee of the Transvaal Responsible Government Association will join with it in a deputation to Lord Milner to urge the above points.—I am, etc.,

THE HON. SECRETARY (*pro tem.*),
Transvaal Progressive Association,
Johannesburg Branch.

the reply to which was:—

JOHANNESBURG, *5th January* 1905.

HON. SECRETARY,
Transvaal Progressive Association.

DEAR SIR,—With further reference to my letter to you of 31st ult. (acknowledging receipt of above letter), I am directed

by my Executive Committee to inform you that as they are at present without any definite information regarding the form of Government likely to be granted for the Transvaal, and having, previous to the receipt of your letters of the 30th and 31st ult., asked His Excellency, Lord Milner, to receive a deputation of their number in order to discuss *inter alia* the points raised in your communication, my Committee do not see their way at the present time to fall in with your suggestion for a joint deputation from both Associations.—I am, etc.,

DAV. DALGETY, *Secretary*,
Transvaal Responsible Government Association.

Subsequent to this correspondence both Associations interviewed Lord Milner on January the 10th. The deputation of the Responsible Government Association was, at their own request, received in private by His Excellency. At a later hour on the same day, a deputation of the Johannesburg branch of the Transvaal Progressive Association was received, and laid before the High Commissioner the following recommendations:—

1. Electoral districts to be formed on the basis of voters; each district to contain as near as can be an equal number of voters, and to return one member.
2. Redistribution of seats wherever required by reason of fluctuations of the number of voters to be made periodically by a Commission appointed by the Governor, and the parties or districts dissatisfied with the results to have the power to appeal to the Supreme Court.

His Excellency appears to have stated, according to Mr Bell, that "there was strong opposition to the principle of one vote, one value," and in his communication to the Press Mr Bell says it was not then known whether the deputation of the Responsible Government Association gave expression to the opposition referred to, but that the fact of their never having embodied in any resolution an expression of opinion favouring equal electoral districts on the basis of

voters, gave colour to the impression that as a body they were opposed to that principle.

The following correspondence supplies evidence that Lord Milner was at this time in touch, not only with the British residents, but also with the Dutch :—

PRETORIA, *13th January* 1905.

HIS EXCELLENCY VISCOUNT MILNER,
Governor of the Transvaal, etc., etc.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—I have been requested by the other members of our Committee, who had the honour of an interview with Your Excellency on the 17th December 1904, about the future Constitution of the Transvaal, to address the following remarks to Your Excellency in reference to certain statements made by Your Excellency to a deputation of the Transvaal Progressive Association on the 10th January.

In the *Star* newspaper of that date Your Excellency is reported to have said that Your Excellency had not yet come across anybody who was opposed to automatic redistribution in principle.

Again, in reference to the proposed qualification for voters, Your Excellency is reported to have said (speaking of property and of rental qualification) that "almost everybody seems to be agreed as to the general principle which I have tried to lay down, and the divergence between the various proposed figures is not very great."

We are afraid that there may be some misunderstanding, and that, because we did not at the interview referred to discuss these subjects with Your Excellency, Your Excellency may have been led to conclude that we have no objections either to automatic redistribution or a qualification for voters.

Now, to both we entertain most serious objections. Automatic redistribution, in order to be fair all round, requires a periodical readjustment of all the constituencies in the country, for otherwise small increments of voters over large parts of the country, which in the aggregate may amount to a very considerable number, will be passed over, while a sudden influx of voters to a particular place, although smaller than the aggregate increments referred to, will receive additional Parliamentary representation. The effect will be, under the peculiar circumstances of the country, that one section of the community will be unduly

favoured above the other. These and other difficulties lead us to the conclusion that it will be premature and dangerous to introduce the principle of automatic redistribution into a Constitution such as that proposed by Your Excellency, and that this matter ought to be left over until, under self-governing institutions, the people of the country have had ample constitutional means of discussing and criticising it.

No less strongly are we opposed to qualifications for voters. In a country like the Transvaal, with a very small white population, it seems in every way inexpedient to discriminate between one white man and another, and the only safe and equitable policy would be to proceed on broad democratic lines, and to give manhood suffrage to the population, so that every white male British subject of a certain age shall have a voice in the affairs of the land. The old burgher franchise law of the late Republic knew of no qualification, and we see no reason for altering the law in this respect. We have all the more reason for adhering to this sound principle when we find the Transvaal Progressive Association proposing to Your Excellency a qualification, the effect of which, within a comparatively short period, will be to exclude large numbers of people in the towns, and far larger numbers of people in the rural areas, from voting and participating in the public affairs of the country.

We feel certain that the views here expressed are shared, and will be endorsed by, a very large part of the Transvaal population.

In making these remarks on matters of detail, we do not in any way recede from the position which we took up at the interview with Your Excellency as to the principle of Representative Government. We consider it wrong in principle and policy, and reserve to ourselves, and to those with whom we are politically associated, complete freedom of action when once the proposals of His Majesty's Government are laid before the country in definite form.—I have, etc.,

(Signed) J. C. SMUTS.

Lord Milner's reply was as follows:—

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE,
JOHANNESBURG, *17th January* 1905.

DEAR MR SMUTS,—I beg to thank you for your letter of the 13th January. I am sorry if any remarks of mine to the deputa-

tion of the Transvaal Progressive Association were calculated to cause a misapprehension of the views of yourself and your friends.

I was certainly under the impression that, while you strongly objected to the principle of "one vote, one value," you recognised the necessity of periodic redistribution. I, however, accept without demur your assurance that I was mistaken in this respect, and that you are opposed to the introduction of this principle into the instrument creating representative institutions.

With regard to the question of a property qualification, I still retain my opinion that the differences on this point between various sections of the community are not very great. I note that you are in favour of manhood suffrage pure and simple. But the distance which separates manhood suffrage from a low property qualification is of little practical importance. It is between a low property qualification and a high one that the true dividing line of democratic and oligarchical institutions is to be found. And it was a decidedly low property qualification which I referred to, when I said I thought there was a pretty general agreement on the point. I was referring to such a qualification as would, to use my own words, enfranchise every man having "independent means of support," *i.e.*, not being dependent for his livelihood on the charity of others, or on the State.

Under such a qualification I believe that something like 80 per cent. of the adult male whites, who are British subjects, would get the franchise—a very high proportion even for the most democratic countries.

As, however, it would appear that I may have, unwittingly, caused some misapprehension of your views, I propose, with your concurrence, to put this right by publishing the correspondence. —Yours very truly,

(Signed) MILNER.

It is unnecessary to comment at length on these letters, the contents of which are quite plain, and show that all parties were actively at work.

It is evident that in his reply to the deputation from the Progressive Association on 10th January, Lord Milner actually conveyed the impression that there was some doubt "as to whether the Home Government, in

framing the Constitution that was about to be conferred upon them, was or was not going to preserve the first principle of equality in the distribution of political power," because Mr J. W. Leonard, in speaking at the Wanderers' Hall on the 19th January, made use of the quoted passage, and thus supports the version given by Mr Bell.

On 19th January a private conference took place between representatives of the Responsible Government and Progressive Associations, to which some prominent citizens, who had joined neither party, were invited, and eventually a scheme was drafted to be submitted simultaneously to the Executive Committee of each association. The essential points were:—

1. (*a*) Equal electoral districts on the basis of voters.
   (*b*) Automatic redistribution every fourth year so as to preserve an equal numerical basis for each constituency.
   (*c*) The first Legislature to be elected for two years only, during which period the Executive may be composed of elected members to such an extent as the Governor may determine.
   (*d*) On the expiry of two years from the election of the first Legislature, a general election to take place, after which it shall be competent for the new Legislature to consider the question of Responsible Government, and should it be found that three-fifths of all the elected members of the House are in favour of Responsible Government, then such form of Government shall be forthwith established
2. It is understood between the two parties that recommendations (*c*) and (*d*) are contingent on the inclusion in the Constitution of provisions for equal electoral districts on the basis of voters and automatic redistribution periodically.

The negotiations proved abortive, because, although the scheme was unanimously approved by the Progressive section, the Responsible Government Association appears to have been unwilling to entertain it.

These negotiations were followed by more correspondence :—

JOHANNESBURG, *3rd February* 1905.

SECRETARY,

Transvaal Responsible Government Association.

DEAR SIR,—My Association has, for many weeks past, been alive to the danger that possibly a Constitution will shortly be granted to the Transvaal in which the principles of equal electoral districts and automatic redistribution of seats will not be included.

This fear was strengthened by a public utterance by Lord Milner on 10th January, to the effect that a strong expression of public opinion would be requisite to secure the embodiment of these principles in the Constitution.

As your Association is holding a meeting in the Wanderers' Hall on the 9th instant, I am instructed by my Executive Committee to ask you whether the Transvaal Responsible Government Association would use its weight and influence in obtaining a strong expression of public opinion in favour of these points, with a view to proving to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that it is the demand of the majority of the people in the Transvaal that these principles should be embodied in any Constitution granted to the colony.—I am, etc.,

(Signed) C. M. BELL, *Assistant Secretary.*
Transvaal Progressive Association,
Johannesburg Branch.

After acknowledging the receipt of the above letter, a further communication was received from the Responsible Government Association :—

JOHANNESBURG, *7th February* 1905.

THE SECRETARY,
Transvaal Progressive Association,
Johannesburg Branch.

DEAR SIR.—With further reference to your letter of the 3rd inst., and my acknowledgment of the 4th, I have to inform you that the subject thereof is still under the consideration of my

Committee, and as soon as I am in a position to do so, I shall again communicate with you.—I am, etc.,

(Signed) DAV. DALGETY, *Secretary.*

Mr Bell contended with justice that the Responsibles were, whether they knew it or not, playing the game of the Boer leaders, and like the latter, "although not unwilling to make secret representations to the High Commissioner, have not yet dared even to attempt to pass a resolution at a public meeting, favouring or opposing the principle of 'one vote, one value.'" Such an attempt, he declared, would, they knew, split their party in twain, and he charged them with "crying vaguely" for a superstructure called "Responsible Government," without apparently minding upon what foundations it might be erected.

The three political associations thus came into being in the following order—first, The Progressive Association, then the Responsible Government Association, both of which were formed before the close of 1904, and finally *Het Volk* (The People), which was formed in the beginning of 1905. An important meeting was held at the Wanderers' on the 19th January 1905, under the auspices of the Progressive Association, at which some interesting speeches were delivered, and two resolutions were passed, the first, "that this meeting desires to place on record its firm conviction that no Constitution will be acceptable to this colony which does not contain provisions for establishing at the outset, and maintaining for the future, equal power and equal privileges for each voter." The second resolution was "that the foregoing resolution be forwarded to His Excellency, Lord Milner, with the request that it be transmitted by cable to the Secretary of State for the Colonies." The first resolution, according to a report in the *Transvaal Leader*, was passed with only one dissentient voice.

The statutes of the Transvaal Progressive Association, of which Sir George Farrar is President, contain the following primary principles:—

1. The maintenance of the British Flag.
2. The recognition of the principle that all voters shall have the same privileges, their votes the same value, and that no elector shall have more than one vote; the maintenance of this principle to be secured by the automatic redistribution of seats.
3. A firm and just Native and Asiatic Policy in accordance with Transvaal ideas.
4. The support of every measure that tends to make the Transvaal a white man's home.
5. The opposing of interference in the affairs of the Transvaal by party politicians elsewhere.

The first principle does not seem, under the circumstances of the case, to have required expressing. The last provision would appear to be out of place but for its reference to *party* politicians. Obviously at this time the Imperial Government was entirely responsible for the government of the country, but the reason for including this provision among the primary principles of the Association is not far to seek. People in the Transvaal—English and Dutch alike—had viewed, with no small disgust and distrust, the manner in which questions vitally affecting the material welfare of the colony had been dragged into the arena of party strife.

The Constitution of the Responsible Government Association was adopted at Johannesburg on 9th December 1904. The objects are set out in two short paragraphs: (1) To take such steps as may be deemed advisable to secure immediate Responsible Government for the Transvaal, and (2) To co-operate with other associations formed throughout the Transvaal for that purpose.

The meeting does not appear to have been a large one, nor were the majority of the persons attending it of the

same standing as those present at the Progressive meeting. Mr E. P. Solomon, who was elected President, said "they had seen the planks of the Progressive Association, and they all agreed with nearly every one of those planks." Without challenging the correctness of this statement as far as it went, it is of cardinal importance to bear in mind that the question of automatic redistribution was not mentioned, and that there was an essential difference in the claims of the two associations, the one favouring the introduction of representative institutions as a stepping-stone to complete Self-Government, the other demanding the grant of full Responsible Government at the outset.

He appears to have been ill-informed as to the nature of representative institutions. He described the policy of the Progressive Association as inconsistent, because "all the measures passed now had to receive the assent of the Home Government, just as they would under Representative Government," forgetting apparently that even under full Responsible Government the veto of the Crown remains. He objected to partly elected and partly nominated Government, upon a variety of well-known grounds, and declared that "if that form of Government was thrust upon their shoulders, he, for one, would not record his vote." "He did not consider that the Home Government should have any right or authority over the measures of this country's Government."

In Appendix D will be found the nineteen statutes of *Het Volk*, published at the meeting at Pretoria on the 28th January 1905. General Louis Botha opened the proceedings, declaring that at a Congress held some time ago a Head Committee was appointed with power to draw up a local organisation for the people of the Transvaal. He then proceeded to state that the Head Committee was now prepared to announce the statutes and to submit them to the meeting, and thus

to establish the first branch of the organisation of the people. It was evidently not intended that the meeting should consider or amend the statutes, because the speaker went on to say "they were not going to discuss the statutes as they had been already published. They were there as adults and white men, and were not there to pull one another's hair." Only one of the audience, apparently, had the temerity to ask when the resolution was moved "that a Pretoria branch of the Association be formed," "do we not first have to approve of the statutes," to which he received the prompt reply from the Chairman: "The statutes are not for your approval or disapproval. We, as the Head Committee, have already approved of them." The resolution was then seconded.

After a discussion upon the subject of forming branches, General Botha made a further speech, in the course of which he stated that the Boers as a people "should faithfully fulfil the obligations which they had entered into in the Treaty of Vereeniging. When they spoke of organisation and future conditions of the country there was not the slightest suspicion that they were disloyal." Later on he put some little qualification upon that statement by saying that if the Imperial Government "expected the Boer people to be loyal, they must be loyal to the Boers." He criticised representative institutions, and exhorted the meeting to pass a resolution that "they could only content themselves with one sort of Government and that was Responsible Government."

Mr Ewald Esselen, who is reported to have risen in response to repeated cries from the meeting, began his speech by saying that "they stood under a treaty and a contract and an obligation, and an obligation which was prescribed in Article 7 of the Vereeniging Peace Treaty." Mr Esselen's definition of the Terms of Surrender is important, as he is a lawyer, and must

be presumed therefore to exercise care in the use of words descriptive of an important historical document. "Those generals who signed that treaty were the men who had the right to go to England and say 'Now has the time arrived for you to complete your contract.'" He concluded his speech as follows: "Let them say to England 'You in your wisdom shall say what we shall get and when we shall get it.' Would they accept those conditions? It was far better to suffer the injustices a little longer that they had borne. For had not the Africander suffered sufficient injustices? Let them proceed and continue to beard these injustices. They did not rear bastard children, and they would not accept a bastard Government." I would not have extracted this portion of the speech, conceived as it was in the worst possible taste, but for the fact that Mr Esselen is one of the Head Committee of *Het Volk*, and he must therefore rank as one of the accepted leaders of the Boer party.

The Head Committee is composed as follows:—General Botha, Chairman; Mr S. W. Burger, Vice-Chairman; General J. C. Smuts, General De la Rey, General C. F. Beyers, Mr A. D. W. Wolmarans, and Mr Ewald Esselen. Whether these men were elected in a satisfactory manner or not from the representative standpoint, they are recognised to-day as the leaders of Boer opinion, and may confidently be regarded as the men who will exact and receive obedience from the rank and file.

A study of their speeches impresses one either with the widely divergent views they hold or the widely divergent manner in which they express them. The four first-named are usually very guarded and discreet in the language they employ. General De la Rey is consistently manly and straightforward in his utterances, but nevertheless delivers himself occasionally of rather astounding views. The three last-named

members of the Committee almost invariably adopt a rabid tone.

The very marked difference in the public utterances of the leaders of *Het Volk* suggests the possibility that it is not accidental. Seeing that the rancour of the war cannot have entirely disappeared, it is not improbable that the inflamatory speeches are intended purely for Boer consumption, while the more moderate attitude is for the edification of the English people. Whether the contrast in the language employed is attributable to design or not, it is quite certain that violent attacks upon the British would please the irreconcilables, and a studied moderation be acceptable to those whose trust and confidence are invited.

After the resolution in favour of complete self-Government had been carried amid loud cheers, a second resolution was passed to bring to the attention of His Excellency, Lord Milner, "that the stipulations of the Vereeniging Peace Conference embraced both the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal," which was also carried with acclamation. Then General De la Rey made a speech on similar lines, in the course of which he made one remarkable statement. "Speaking as one who was a member of the old Government, he could say there was nothing to reproach oneself with concerning the manner in which that Government ruled the country from the times of desert land and barbarity until 1900." The value of his opinion upon the late Government is of importance in assessing the weight to be attached to his declaration in favour of full Responsible Government.

General Beyers followed, and described himself as "a child in politics," a designation of which no one would dream of attempting to deprive him, after becoming acquainted with his later utterances. Mr A. D. W. Wolmarans spoke next, declaring that "it was only when full Responsible Government was granted

that he would extend his hand to England and co-operate with the English."

One or two remarks upon the statutes are pertinent as evidence of the extreme docility of the meeting, and the absolute confidence that the Boers repose in the seven gentlemen who form the Head Committee. The first clause could not have in view more praiseworthy aims, namely, "to bring about harmony and mutual co-operation of the population of the Transvaal, and to advance the general prosperity and progress of the country and people." The other clauses are devoted to the organisation of the Association. Number 14 is particularly interesting, as it confers upon the Head Committee the power to dissolve any committee which it deems to be "under influences which are detrimental or hostile to the principles or interests of this Association." Number 17 contains the declaration to be signed by members, in which they bind themselves "to faithfully observe the obligations connected with its membership." Number 18 provides for the preparation by the Head Committee of the agenda to be considered at the yearly people's Congress, and permits the consideration of points submitted by district committees, sent in at least one month beforehand, *subject to the approval of the Head Committee.*

As the result of criticism upon the way in which the statutes of this organisation place the whole control of Boer policy in the hands of a few of the leading men, General Botha, in a speech made at Johannesburg on the 16th May, endeavoured to represent the matter in another light. Resenting the charge that the Head Committee was self-appointed, he declared that they were elected by representatives at a Congress of the people from every district in the Transvaal. He said: "The statutes were not a law which was forced on them, and to which they were bound for years. They could be altered annually by representatives of the branches

elected for that purpose, and if there should be anything wrong with the statutes, there was every opportunity of rectifying these errors."

In making this statement General Botha said nothing inconsistent with the truth, but the distinction he made was a very fine one. The subtlety is worthy of note, as it is characteristic of a Boer mental habit. The people, at their annual Congress, could, of course, alter the statutes if asked to do so, but, under Section 18, the Head Committee is endowed with authority to prepare the agenda, and is, moreover, authorised to prohibit the consideration of any points that may have been submitted by a district committee a whole month before the time of the meeting, so that obviously the statutes can only be altered with the consent of the Head Committee.

We will now pass from the statutes of *Het Volk* to consider the resolution passed at the meeting as to the Terms of Surrender embracing both the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal. Seeing that the two Republics had made common cause in the war and had jointly surrendered, no serious exception can be taken to the Boer leaders in the Transvaal endeavouring to obtain for the Orange River Colony the same privileges that are bestowed upon them. The question is one for the decision of the home authorities, who will, doubtless, be influenced in no small degree by the way in which the population of the latter colony conducts itself. The Terms of Surrender, however, made no provision for the treatment of the two colonies upon the same footing, but clearly indicated the stages to be passed through before the grant of full Self-Government. No stipulation whatever as to the duration of the different stages was made, nor was there anything to indicate that the various forms of Government would be maintained for similar periods in the two countries. It has been frequently laid down in the clearest terms that the British Government has no intention of allowing the

Administration in the new colonies to pass retrogressive measures. That is why, even in the Transvaal, the new Constitution reserves a considerable measure of control. But in that colony it is not improbable that a majority of the members of the Legislature will actively favour the pursuance of a policy upon British lines. The same could not be said about the sister colony, where the Boer element predominates, and so long as the spirit of fractious criticism and opposition is evinced in that country, so long will there be a hesitation to grant representative institutions.

In the Transvaal the British Government no doubt hopes and expects that the majority of the elected members of the Legislature will be in accord with the members of the Executive. In the Orange River Colony, present indications do not favour such an expectation. It may further be said that the main reason for granting representative institutions to the Transvaal consists in there being many grave problems to face, in the settlement of which it is desirable that the people should have a predominant share. The Orange River Colony knows no such problems. Its one great political question is the racial one, and till this state of affairs is altered there is no reason for complicating its Administration unnecessarily by any grant of an irrelevant autonomy.

With the object of discovering some of the reasons that may have actuated His Majesty's Government in at present withholding representative institutions from the Orange River Colony, it is advisable to glance at the deliberations of the Boers in that country at public meetings. At the Brandfort Congress, which was held on the 1st December 1904, the speeches made were of the bitterest type, and the tone adopted not of a character to inspire confidence, or to encourage the British Government to place the destinies of the country in the hands of representatives so frankly hostile. The

resolutions passed in many instances took the form of demands. General Hertzog presided, and General De Wet took an active part in the proceedings. At the second day's sitting a resolution, sub-divided into nineteen sections, was passed, which took almost the form of an ultimatum to the Government upon the subject of compensation, and in the first section the Transvaal example was followed in the use of the words "Peace Treaty," as a description of the Terms of Surrender. In Section 8 the Judicial Commission, which sat at Pretoria, was charged with having been influenced by secret information supplied by the military authorities, "which information in most cases is naturally not to be trusted," and in other parts of the same resolution, a demand was made for "further investigation" by "an impartial Commission."

Section 14 read: "The payment of the three million pounds free gift must take place without delay, and so far as advances have already been made out of these funds, these must be accounted for." Section 15 declared: "That all receipts given out by the officers of His Majesty's forces must be paid out in full without delay," insinuated that the promises and proclamations of Lord Roberts had not been carried out, and added that in accordance with International Law, and with the principles laid down by the Hague Convention, all persons "are entitled to compensation for losses suffered by the destruction or confiscation of their personal effects by His Majesty's troops." In Section 17: "This Congress expects, in view of the distrust engendered by the whole story of adjudication and payment of claims, free gift, receipts, notes, and repatriation, that His Majesty's Government shall publish, or cause to be published, a full statement of the distribution and administration of these funds in the English as well as in the Dutch language, so that all reason for distrust on the part of the burghers may be dispelled."

In Section 18 the Congress stated its opinion that there was no reason to suppose the people of the Orange River Colony would ever be able to co-operate of their own free will with His Majesty's Government, unless their views in these matters were complied with. The last Section of the Resolution merely referred to its being handed to His Excellency, the Lieutenant-Governor, "with a polite but earnest request to take the necessary steps to have the same laid before His Majesty."

On the language and education questions some strong speeches were delivered and resolutions passed, impressing upon the Government that, taking into consideration the contents of Article 5 of "the Peace Treaty" of Vereeniging, the facts that the majority of the people speak the Dutch language, and that the official use of the English language causes much inconvenience and injustice, equal rights to the Dutch and English languages should be accorded in the public offices. The resolutions in regard to the use of English as the medium of instruction follow closely those adopted by the Transvaal Boers.

Clause 5 of the Terms of Surrender, the reader may be reminded, provides for the teaching of the Dutch language in public schools, if the parents of the children desire it, but by implication specially excludes its use as the official language, because it contains a specific proviso, allowing the use of Dutch in Courts of Law "when necessary for the better and more effectual administration of justice."

The conduct of the South African Constabulary came in for condemnation, and resolutions were passed expressing the view that the force was arranged in a manner and upon a scale not in accordance with the needs of the colony, that its maintenance pressed heavily upon the inhabitants, that it should be re-organised upon the lines of the mounted service of

the late Orange Free State, and that its members should be picked from the inhabitants of South Africa. Efforts by the Government to relieve destitute people by supplying them with labour at public works were gratefully acknowledged, but the scale of pay was objected to as hardly sufficient to support the persons employed and their families, and a plea for increase was made.

The usual resolution in favour of Responsible Government was adopted, and, in the course of his speech upon that subject, General Hertzog said they were promised Self-Government on the lines of the Cape Colony in two years by Lord Kitchener and Lord Milner, and contended that that promise "could not have been altered without a great breach of trust." It is unfortunate that General Hertzog should have received such an impression from anything said, but the circumstances are all against the probability of such an assurance having been given.

I do not propose to analyse the proceedings at the Brandfort Congress any further, because the affairs of the Orange River Colony are not under consideration in detail, but those who desire a more intimate acquaintance with what took place should read the Johannesburg local Press at the beginning of December 1904, in which full reports appear.

The Republican Government, in the days of the Orange Free State, was conducted upon far more enlightened lines than that of the sister Republic across the Vaal River. The Administration was held in good repute, and the system of education was progressive. The influence of men like President Brand, Mr J. G. Fraser, and many others, resulted in an admirable public service, and in that State the foreigners were so few as to render any special steps for excluding them from the franchise unnecessary. If representative institutions were granted in that colony

to-morrow, there would be but little danger of malpractices in the Public Offices, but the spirit evinced at the Brandfort Congress cannot exclude an apprehension that a system, favourable to the strengthening and perpetuation of a Dutch party, hostile to the British policy and connection, would inevitably be introduced.

The influence of the Africander Bond, which exercises considerable power in the Cape Colony, is visible in the tactics adopted both in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. *The Friend*, for instance—a newspaper published in Bloemfontein—extremely hostile to British institutions, is actually circulated in many of the country districts free of charge, a fact which naturally gives rise to suspicion. A specimen of the views circulated by that organ is furnished by a leading article in its issue of 20th May, upon the visit of Lord Selborne to Bloemfontein :—

"If the Africander leaders do not to-day attend Earl Selborne's introduction, it is because they were for one thing educated in the simpler, and, as they regard them, manlier fashions of a Republic. These newly-introduced flipperies and flummeries of quasi-royalty are by no means to their liking. Also, they cannot ignore that the florid ceremony of to-day betokens a conqueror's pageant. It is soon for them to forget the loss of their country, or to yield anything more than a passive loyalty to the representative of an invader king."

The article goes on to state that the older population will neither applaud nor object at the inauguration, but will wait to see what policy he will adopt. The question of whether the passive loyalty can be made active "will depend in a large measure on the new High Commissioner." Commenting on Lord Selborne's speech at Cape Town, in which he made references to the protection given to South Africa by the British Navy, *The Friend* points out that without that fleet the British

army could never have so renewed itself with troops and supplies as to maintain its foothold :—

"If that fleet went to the bottom to-morrow, Free Staters would have no more cause to feel regret than if it was the Russian or Japanese Navy that had foundered."

No particular importance attaches to the utterances of a newspaper of this description, but the fact must not be lost sight of that it is the public organ most widely read by the Boers of the Orange River Colony. It is obviously reasonable that the inhabitants of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies should both desire to have control over their respective local affairs. The difficulty for the British Government is to determine how far that aspiration can be gratified without risk to affairs that are not purely local, and no reasonable exception can be taken to their having decided to make the experiment in the first instance in the larger colony, where the number of persons, genuinely British in their sentiment, are equal to those of whom such a description may be scarcely correct.

I propose to devote the next chapter to the consideration of the action of political parties after their formation.

## CHAPTER VIII

### POLITICAL TACTICS

BETWEEN the dates at which the different associations were formed and the date when the Constitution was published, the time was busily occupied by each party prosecuting a campaign in support of its contentions. The Boer leaders were particularly active in establishing branches of *Het Volk*. A branch was formed at Krugersdorp on 30th January, at which General Botha followed the lines of his Pretoria speech —with one variation, however. "He hoped the district of Krugersdorp would, by means of resolutions, show the High Commissioner of South Africa that they of the Transvaal would accept nothing which was not also given to the Free State." General De la Rey also spoke at some length, and repeated an exhortation which he had delivered at Pretoria advising the people "to go home and remain still, and at the right time they would be called together to make their voices heard," concluding with the plea for Responsible Government. Mr Hans Burger, the ex-Mining Commissioner of Krugersdorp, then made a violent speech, in the course of which he used the following phrase, which was received with cheers: "There was not an Africander who looked to the future who did not expect to see a United South Africa under its own flag." It would have been unnecessary to refer to this extraordinary outburst on the part of a man of only secondary importance, but for the fact that no ex-

ception was taken to his remarks, nor was the outspoken disloyalty promptly repudiated, as it should have been, by the leading members of *Het Volk*.

Mr Ewald Esselen again distinguished himself. In the course of his address he said, "The Boers must keep their contract, and if they were to be ruled by a Government six thousand miles over the sea, and they disagreed with it, they would appeal to the whole of South Africa. He hoped the day would never come when the white people of South Africa would have to say that they could stand it no longer, but they must never think of such a possibility." He stated that the country was not properly governed, and, of course, supported the demand for Responsible Government. The branch was duly formed, and the meeting closed with cheers for the Head Committee.

A branch was formed at Heidelberg on the 1st February. General Botha and Mr Esselen were again the principal speakers, and the latter, as on previous occasions, was conspicuous for the force of his rhetoric. On the 3rd of the same month a meeting was held at Standerton, at which General Botha, losing a little of his former discretion and borrowing a phrase from his comrade Mr Esselen, said "he was extremely sorry that the Imperial Government six thousand miles away desired to keep them under their thumb. All the people wanted was justice and right, and he hoped they would get it by making known their demands to the Government." The proceedings were unanimous and the branch was duly formed.

On the 4th a branch was formed in Johannesburg, under the auspices of ex-General Muller, and on the same day General Botha presided at Volksrust, where another off-shoot of *Het Volk* was established. On this occasion he stated "that the main object of the programme was to protect the great interests of the

Dutch in the Transvaal, and for mutual co-operation in the interests of the country." Later on in his speech he is reported to have said that "only by the granting of Responsible Government would the two great white races be able to co-operate and work together. A bastard form of Government had never yet succeeded in the Transvaal and never would."

It is unnecessary to mention in detail all the meetings that were held in different parts of the country, but it is worth while to follow the leaders in their campaign at the more important places.

On the 11th February, Mr A. D. W. Wolmarans and General Beyers carried through the formation of a branch at Pietersburg. Both speakers were highly indiscreet. The former counselled his hearers in strong terms to refuse to have anything to do with the promised £30,000,000; the latter raked up the Bezuidenhout incident, which resulted in the Schlagter's Nek rebellion of 1816, and was lavish in his invectives against the authorities. The plain speaking of these delegates does not appear to have been entirely approved by the other members of the Head Committee, and resulted in a mild rebuke from General Botha, who expressed his regret at the tone of Mr Beyer's speech at Pietersburg, but no more serious consequences followed. It is only fair to state that at a meeting of burghers, held in Mr Opperman's farm, about twenty miles South of Pretoria, and at which about a hundred were present, that gentleman, and General D. J. Erasmus expressed their disapproval of Mr Beyers' attitude.

A few day's later, according to the *Zoutpansberg Review*, the indiscreet General Beyers said "the fact of his people having been beaten in the field did not mean that they should be beaten in the political arena."

On the 13th February hundreds of farmers attended

a meeting at Ermelo, at which were present General Botha, Mr Schalk Burger, and General T. Smuts, and a branch was formed. Nothing very interesting took place in the course of proceedings except that General Botha stated that as two parties had now been formed by the English population the Boers were also justified in making a move. He asked all to assist in extinguishing race hatred and racial differences. "All white men must work together for the good of the country."

It is interesting to reflect for a few moments upon these utterances. Why was it necessary for the Boers to make a move? Two parties had been established by the British, one aiming at immediate Responsible Government, the other favouring the introduction of representative institutions first. *If the Boer leaders truly wished to make an end of race difficulties, why did they not join one or other of these parties?* It is reasonable and intelligible, however, that the Boers should desire to form a party of their own, because, amongst other things, they do not favour automatic redistribution, and hope to see some particular reservations in favour of the country districts, which indeed have been to some extent made; but declarations like those cited deserve to be especially mentioned as a proof of their lack of sincerity.

Mr S. Burger presided at Belfast, and made a moderate speech in favour of forming a branch of *Het Volk*, which does not call for particular notice. After the meeting, however, the correspondent of the *Star* reports that he interviewed him with reference to General Beyers' speech, and he is said to have expressed on his own and General Botha's behalf entire disapproval, and stated that if the reports of the speech were proved correct, General Beyers should be deposed. There was the difficulty, however, that the members might misinterpret such action by the

Head Committee of *Het Volk*, and say, "they put him out because he spoke the truth and gave them away."

On the same day General Beyers and Mr A. D. W. Wolmarans were again busy at Nylstroom, and the former gave an explanation of his speech, and said he had no intention of raising ill feeling against the Government, but only of rousing his countrymen from the sulky, brooding spirit they were falling into, which was a dangerous state. He cut rather a sorry figure making this recantation. Mr Wolmarans devoted his speech mainly to an attack upon the capitalists, and the usual resolutions were passed.

At Warmbaths, where another branch was formed, the same leaders continued the campaign, but here some of the statements made by them were very effectively challenged by Mr Mackie Niven of Johannesburg, whose intervention appears to have been rather disconcerting.

On the 25th February, General Botha visited Middelburg, where the adhesion to *Het Volk* was strengthened. The rapid way in which the Boer leaders travelled from place to place and scoured the Transvaal, leaving no stone unturned to perfect the organisation, is a lesson in party tactics. Nearly every little *dorp* had its meeting, and it is needless to give a synopsis of them all. The speeches are much like one another, with now and then a phrase or two dropping out, possibly unintentionally, that let in a ray of extra light upon the inner motives of *Het Volk*. At Wonderboom, for instance, on the 18th March, General Botha stated that the principle of "one vote, one value" was certainly in conflict with the interests of the general public of the Transvaal. The cry of "one vote, one value" was another offspring of Johannesburg, and it was against the best interests of the land. The object of it was to give more rights to one section of the public than another.

In the *Star* of the 15th April there is the report of another violent speech against the British power, on the subject of Education, by the undefeatable General Beyers.

Leaving *Het Volk* for the moment, we may glance at the two sections of the British party. On the 24th February the Progressive Association had a luncheon, at which Mr George Goch, the Mayor of Johannesburg, presided, and which was attended by a number of well-known men. Extracts from the proceedings will be found in Appendix E. The reader's attention is particularly directed to a few points in the speech delivered by Mr Goch, a man of the highest character, who enjoys the respect of all Johannesburg. He pointed out that while the Association looked for Responsible Government by-and-by, they accepted, and intended to support, the policy foreshadowed in the King's speech, and expressed the hope that when the Constitution was published the whole of the British population would present a united front under its provisions. He then proceeded to pass a trenchant and scathing criticism upon the leaders of *Het Volk*, which is best read in the words of the speaker himself. He showed how an attempt was being made to sow strife between capital and labour for political ends, and devoted a few well directed sentences to the attitude of the Boer party in regard to the labour question. Both he and Mr Leonard, who followed him, appealed to the inhabitants of Pretoria and Johannesburg to get rid of any jealousy that kept them apart, so that they might work together for the common good. Mr Leonard described *Het Volk* as a pyramid of democracy standing on its head. Meanwhile branches of the Association were formed in various towns, but none of the speeches call for any particular review.

The Responsible Government Association was not

idle. On the 14th January they met at dinner and mustered a large company, with their President in the chair. Among those who attended were many well-known people, including some, it is important to note, who had been prominent in the early stages of the campaign against the importation of Chinese labour. Extracts from the speeches will be found in Appendix F. The Chairman, in opening his long address, urged his hearers, when they expressed their opinions on public platforms to be moderate in the language they used. The reader who will take the trouble to read that interesting address will be able to form his own opinion of Mr E. P. Solomon's conception of moderation. He pointed out that under Responsible Government the British Government would never interfere, except in an extreme case. In regard to Sir Gilbert Parker he said: "What right he had to come in and interfere I do not know," but surely the Chairman of the South African Association, and a member of Parliament in England, may venture to express some views upon Transvaal affairs without being open to such a charge. The whole of his speech, in fact, was directed to the right of the people of the Transvaal to manage everything in connection with that country according to their own ideas, and to brook no interference from home, excepting in a case where a measure passed by their House of Parliament trenched upon Imperial interests. With the action of Great Britain in regard to the Transvaal clearly before our eyes, one would have expected a wider definition of Imperial interests than such an extreme attitude involves.

After reviewing the description of Constitution favoured by the Progressive Association, he went on to advise his hearers as to the course of action they should pursue if they followed his lead, taking it for granted that they would be able to return to Parliament

a majority of men "pledged to carry at the first session a Responsible Government Constitution for the country." He would then recommend the passing of a resolution to adjourn the house "and ask the English Government to decide the steps they are going to take on that measure, or otherwise you block every measure the Government introduces. You stop their supplies until you force them to give you what the majority of the house has resolved on. I am told by my friends on the other side that that is very un-English, and that it is not fair. My reply is: 'It is politics, and it is the right of the majority of the country to rule and to carry their resolutions into effect.'" His comparisons with affairs in the Cape Colony and in Canada do not throw much light upon the situation in the Transvaal. Later on he made some remarks in regard to the Boer which, as they were intended as a plea for a closer friendship with him, deserve every commendation, and proceeded to express his opinion that there was a wealth of local material to draw upon for ministers of the Crown under responsible institutions. He concluded his address by suggesting a scheme, which, according to his opinion, would tend to bring the people of the country together, and which had in view the getting rid of the representative form of Government, proposing that the then existing Administration under the Crown Colony system should be maintained with certain alterations for a period; but he did not seem to realise that the business of constitution-making did not lie with the people of the Transvaal, even as a whole, and much less so with the section represented by the Responsible Government Association.

On February the 9th, a public meeting was held at the Wanderers' Hall in Johannesburg, under the auspices of the Responsible Government party. Mr E. P. Solomon addressed the meeting, reiterating the arguments he had used at the dinner, and was followed

by Mr H. B. Papenfus, who moved the resolution that "in the opinion of this meeting the immediate grant of a full measure of Responsible Government in this colony is absolutely essential to its progress and prosperity." He was followed by Mr Quinn and by Mr Whiteside, both of whom, it may be worth noting, signed the minority report against the introduction of Chinese labour. The resolution was carried, the Chairman is reported to have stated, by 3,000 votes to 1. A resolution was also carried to request the Governor to cable the previous resolution to the home Government. Under the auspices of this Association a branch was formed in Pretoria.

At Heidelberg a meeting with the same object in view does not appear to have gone off so well, and upon a show of hands, according to the Press report, it was claimed that the Progressives had won, and three cheers were given for the victory. No scrutineers had been appointed and the meeting collapsed.

On the 6th February, Mr Abe Bailey, a prominent colonial, who served a two years' apprenticeship in politics as a member of the House of Assembly in the Cape Colony, and a vigorous supporter of British interests, wrote a letter to *The Transvaal Leader*, in the course of which he stated that he would prefer to see an immediate grant of Self-Government, including provisions for (1) single member constituencies, (2) equal electoral districts (*i.e.* "one vote, one value"), (3) elections to take place on one day, (4) automatic redistribution of seats, in preference to any form of Representative Government without those conditions. He expressed his mistrust of the extreme section of the Boers, as represented by some of their leaders. He then quoted Mr Burger, at the meeting for the establishment of a branch of *Het Volk* at Krugersdorp, who advocated "a united South Africa under an independent flag." This gentleman, it is only fair to observe, is Mr Hans

Burger, and should not be confounded with Mr Schalk Burger. Mr Bailey proceeded to charge General Botha with plainly and definitely stating at Volksrust that he thought the swamping of the British vote by the Dutch majority was "the very thing that ought to come about." He described *Het Volk* as "a military organisation following very closely on the lines of conduct of the Bond in the Cape Colony. It is racial in character, it imposes a pledge of obedience upon its members to the orders of its self-constituted leaders, and it denies liberty of opinion either to its individual members or to its branches." Towards the close of his letter he said: "Despite their protestations the policy of the Dutch party is not South Africa for the South Africans, but South Africa for the Dutch, and for those who will subordinate themselves to their ideas."

This letter was followed on 17th February by a short communication from Mr J. W. Leonard, in the course of which he said: "A great electoral army is being created, but profound ignorance prevails as to the purpose for which it is destined. The natural result is political unrest, which is bad for the nerves of the country. Will not the leaders of *Het Volk* take the public to some extent into their confidence as to their policy and plans? Why does not Mr Louis Botha give us, say—a reply to, or a comment upon, Mr Bailey's recent letter?"

This challenge drew a reply from General Botha, which was published on the 24th, in the course of which he denied having used the expressions attributed to him at Volksrust, but stated that a certain Mr Fisher at Volksrust had written a letter to Lord Milner, declaring that unless the English were assisted the British vote was bound to be swamped by the Boers. I have carefully studied the report of the meeting at Volksrust referred to, and do not find the statement which Mr Bailey laid at the General's door, but am surprised that

in replying he ignored the statement undoubtedly made by Mr Burger, which the occasion afforded him an excellent opportunity of repudiating. He described the accusation that *Het Volk* is a military organisation, "as an insinuation so unworthy that it hardly merits serious attention." He then went on to say that the Boer organisation "aims at nothing else but the mutual co-operation of all white men in the Transvaal in furtherance of the best interests of the land and people," and concluded his letter by stigmatising "one vote, one value," and the automatic redistribution of seats as a scheme of which he would never be able to approve, "because I consider it absolutely against the interests of the entire population of the Transvaal."

It will, no doubt, occur to every one who reads this correspondence, that the Chairman of *Het Volk* was not to be charmed into defining the policy of that institution. The general description, which is repeated *ad nauseam*, as to its object being the welfare of the country and the people is comprehensive enough, but the undetermined point is what is meant by "the people."

Before we turn to the consideration of the Constitution itself, there are two matters demanding investigation. The first is the understanding arrived at between the Responsible Government Association and *Het Volk*, the most important item of which is contained in the agreement regarding education. The other is the interpretation put upon the Terms of Surrender by the Boers. I will deal with the compact first, and quote the paragraph upon education *in extenso*:—

"We are of opinion that subject to the efficient control of the Education Department, especially as regards the confirmation of appointments and dismissals of teachers, the curriculum to be followed and the expenditure of money, local committees for the management of schools should be entirely elected by parents and contributories, and should also have the right in the lower standards to fix the medium of instruction. From Standard IV.

the English language shall be the medium of instruction, and if the Committee shall decide that the medium of instruction in the lower standards shall be Dutch, the English language shall be taught for an equivalent number of hours, or *vice versa*. The appointment and dismissal of teachers to be subject to the confirmation of the Education Department. Education to be free in the elementary schools."

The bearing of this clause is perfectly clear, and would, to all intents and purposes, place in the hands of the Dutch the control of education in the country districts. It is not quite clear whether it is intended that the English language should be used as the medium of instruction in Standard IV. or after Standard IV., but, in any case, reference to the report of the Director of Education suggests the question as to whether or not the great bulk of the Boer children are likely to stay at school beyond Standard III. It will be noticed also that no reference was made to the position of English children in the outlying districts. They would, of course, constitute a small minority, but did the parties intend that they should begin their education through the medium of Dutch?

On the question of voting the only point of importance is that each denies any vote to "the military." No indication is given as to whether the South African Constabulary would be deemed to rank under that heading. The parties agreed to the principle of "one vote, one value," with the proviso that "those districts which fall below the necessary quota, either of voters or of population, should be specially dealt with." The Chinese Labour Ordinance was to be left in operation for a period of five years. The question of the war contribution "can be discussed between us when it is actually proposed to levy any contribution." The same control and restriction over the Indian and Asiatic traders, as the late Government claimed, is laid down as a common desire.

The Responsible Government Association claimed, according to an official letter from their secretary, that, as an outcome of these negotiations, they had "eliminated the racial question from the politics of the State," and they advanced other rather pretentious claims, which it is unnecessary to set out in detail. The *rapprochement* was received locally with almost unanimous disapproval, and there can be no question that in concluding it the Responsible Government party weakened their position immeasurably, and lost a great number of adherents. Mr Bailey, in a letter to the *Rand Daily Mail*, described the education scheme as reactionary. He alleged that the want of wisdom in placing too much power in the hands of local committees had been realised both in the Cape Colony and the Orange River Colony. In both those States a compromise has been arrived at in regard to the language question, by which children obtain a thorough knowledge of English as a necessary preparation for their careers in life, but, in spite of the progressive policy adopted in the two sister colonies, the responsible party have, he said, "deliberately pandered to *Het Volk* aims and ambitions, and have bargained away those educational possibilities which would have enabled our children to take their places amongst the enlightened citizens of the world." Mr Bailey, who is a South African born, and who has a thorough knowledge, and proclaims his love, of the *Taal*, refused to proceed along any path of compromise in the matter of language and education, "which appears likely to endanger the future of our South African nation."

No useful purpose could be served by analysing the pact at any considerable length, since the publication of the Constitution sets at rest many of the questions upon which the respective parties had arrived at an understanding, and in regard to which they had made their aspirations public; but a few observations are

perhaps justified upon the subject of the very grave responsibility which the Committee of the Responsible Government party would have incurred if the result of their action had actually exercised any influence upon the charter of rights framed by the Imperial authorities.

The chief objections to the premature arrangements lie in the absence of any properly constituted machinery for making them, and in the serious responsibility incurred by a section only of the British population in matters that might have had a far-reaching effect upon the whole. From the standpoint of political tactics the action of the Responsible Government party was not only elementary, but misguided. They do not seem to have discriminated between the attitude of individuals trying to get into power and the considerations that govern the policy of a party actually in office.

Without impugning the good faith of the parties to the agreement, it is obvious that neither of them were in a position to bind members of the Legislature at a future time. The intense desire of the Executive Committee of the Responsible Government party to pursue a conciliatory policy led them unwittingly to play into the hands of *Het Volk*. They made a serious concession regarding education, and got nothing in return, alienating many of their own staunch supporters, and opening the door to a very practical danger at the polls. If they did not fully appreciate the error at the time, their eyes should have been opened by the satisfaction with which the Boer leaders referred to the compact later on, notably at the meeting of *Het Volk* held in Johannesburg on 16th May, and at the Boer Congress in Pretoria early in July. At the second day's sitting of the latter the compact was unanimously ratified without discussion. On the same day, however, at the evening sitting, among a number of resolutions submitted and passed unanimously was the following :—"That the principle of 'one vote, one value'

is unfounded, because the people of the outside districts would not by it get satisfactory and proper representation." The acceptation and repudiation of the principle of "one vote, one value" upon the same day is rather characteristic, and should serve as a warning. Clearly the Head Committee of *Het Volk* did not consider the understanding any bar to a campaign in favour of a Constitution upon their model.

The proceedings at the meeting of 16th May are worth following, because other interesting matters besides the *entente* with the Responsible Government Association were dealt with. General Muller presided, and there were, according to the *Rand Daily Mail*, from 1,200 to 1,500 persons present. Speeches were delivered by three of the Boer generals. General Botha, referring to the agreement with the Responsible Government party, repeatedly emphasised his wish and hope that their organisation would continue to enter into compromises "under which the two nations could unite." He maintained that "in that agreement they did not get what they would have liked to have got, but, as he had already said, if they wanted to bring the two peoples together to make one strong nation, each must give in to the other." He said that they had given the assurance from every platform that their organisation included nothing "which would mean an alteration of the Treaty of Vereeniging." He made a general reference to the speech of the Mayor of Johannesburg, already dealt with in this chapter, which he described as frankly hostile, and after twitting Mr Goch with having sold a concession to the Rand Water Board, went on to attack in detail a speech delivered by Mr Leonard upon the Constitution, who, in the course of his remarks, made some possibly ill-advised references to the Boers having been beaten to their knees, though he repudiated any wish to accentuate this fact or to revel in the misfortunes of his fellow Dutch subject

General Botha seized upon those remarks as affording an opportunity to re-open the question of the conditions under which the surrender took place, and it may be of interest to compare what he said with the official reports. Referring to Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener as having stated that unconditional surrender would be the only terms of peace, he said that eventually they came to a compromise and agreement. "Therefore instead of unconditional surrender there existed to-day a Treaty of Vereeniging, which was called the Boers' Charter."

It would be superfluous to-day to discuss the significance of the conditions of surrender, but for the tendency on the part of the Boers to magnify the importance of their position under that instrument. The *South African News*, for instance, which is the Bond organ published in Cape Town, in the course of an article, in which it takes Mr Leonard to task for the remarks referred to, says:—"As every person possessing an ounce of imagination has seen long ago the main hope of the permanence of the structure, whose foundations were laid at Vereeniging, is just the fact that the republicans were not beaten to their knees, but entered the British Empire 'in cap and plumes erect and free,' and, therefore, able to forgive and co-operate with those whose full blood brethren and partners they then became."

The correspondence preceding the agreement as to the Terms of Surrender discloses the efforts of the Boers, first of all to retain their independence, then to surrender independence as regards foreign relations, but to retain Self-Government under British supervision. Finally, finding themselves unable to make any headway under such terms, they obtained powers from the burghers in the field to accept the conditions approved of by His Majesty's Government for the surrender of the Boer forces in the field, and set forth in ten articles.

According to the terms of Article 7, the British Government clearly retained the right to decide when the changes in the form of Government should take place. No word is found in any one of the articles that could be deemed to constitute a right on the part of any of the inhabitants of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies to be heard in this connection, and when, therefore, General Botha says that they, meaning presumably the leaders of *Het Volk*, "had always adopted the principle that they asked neither for Responsible nor Representative Government, but they said that when the change came it must be a thorough one," he claimed something quite beyond the terms of Vereeniging, which particularly provide for "representative institutions leading up to Self-Government."

The same may be said regarding the Boer attitude respecting the war contribution. Article 9 of the Terms of Surrender provided for the imposition of no special tax on "landed property" for such a purpose, but in no sense debarred the British Government from exacting any amount they might choose to levy, chargeable upon the general revenues of the countries. It is perfectly true that at the time the British Government permitted the Boers to surrender, the whole of their forces had not been driven from the field, but overwhelming evidence exists that they were no longer in a position to maintain the struggle. After the surrender they freely acknowledged that their resources were exhausted, and that in a few more weeks they would have been compelled in any case to yield.

The object of the British Government in granting the Terms of Surrender was obvious. They wished to put an end to hostilities which were still causing a certain loss of life and treasure, and the ten articles only contained stipulations which would have been carried out by the British Government without any agreement having been entered into. A striking proof of this is

furnished by the free grant of £3,000,000. According to the Terms of Surrender, this sum was to include the cost of restoring the people to their homes, of supplying food, shelter, and the necessary amount of seed, stock, implements, etc., indispensable to the resumption of their normal occupations, as well as to liquidate debts incurred under Law No. 1 of 1900 of the South African Republic. In addition to this gift, the British Government undertook to advance money free of interest for similar purposes, and, as a matter of fact, far more than the irrecoverable £3,000,000 have already been spent, and still further payments upon this head are about to be made, showing that the British Government does not restrict itself in its benevolent attitude towards the Boers solely to the terms of "The Peace of Vereeniging."

In his speech, General Botha again referred to the "payment out of the £3,000,000 free gift," which he said Sir Arthur Lawley promised would soon be taken in hand. The utterances of the Boers convey the impression that a serious misunderstanding has arisen upon this subject. There should, however, be no misunderstanding. A great deal more than £3,000,000 was spent by the Government long ago upon repatriation and other matters contemplated in the Terms of Surrender, but the claims made under Law No. 1 of 1900 have involved a most intricate and difficult investigation, and it is a portion of that money which still remains unpaid. It is this which has formed the groundwork of a number of bitter speeches delivered by some of the Boer leaders in the course of the past twelve months. But the circumstance of all the claims under Law No. 1 of 1900 not having been dealt with does not establish any just cause for charging the British Government with not having supplied the £3,000,000 free grant provided for in the Terms of Surrender.

There will be a considerable interval before the

elections at which the respective strength of parties will be demonstrated in a constitutional manner. The candidates of all parties will, without doubt, express themselves in favour of full Responsible Government, some urging it as an immediate necessity, and others signifying their readiness to loyally bide the time when in their wisdom the Home Government see fit to grant wider privileges. But whatever opinions may prevail on this, and many other questions, it is tolerably certain that the understanding arrived at between the Responsible Government party and *Het Volk* will become entirely obscured when the grave question has to be decided as to whether power is to be placed in the hands of a party representing British ideals or a party representing Dutch ideals.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE CONSTITUTION

THE publication of the Constitution, which took place simultaneously in England and the Transvaal on the 25th April 1905, lifted the curtain on a new era in the Transvaal, the duration of which will rest with the people. The British Government has placed in their hands no small measure of power, considering the short time that has elapsed since peace was proclaimed, and the elements of uncertainty that exist, owing to the presence of two races, not very unequal numerically.

The document will be found set out in Appendix G, together with the masterly covering despatch of the Colonial Secretary. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the new charter was received with approval by the entire Progressive party in the Transvaal, and even by many who would have preferred to see full Responsible Government granted at once.

Upon 6th May the local Press contained a communication from the Executive Committee of the Responsible Government Association, expressing their views upon the subject. They began by describing themselves as the ascertained majority of the population of the Transvaal, and in adopting that definition must clearly have included *Het Volk*. They declared that this majority, having expressed at public meetings its opinion in favour of the immediate introduction of Responsible Government, recorded with great dissatis-

faction the promulgation of a Constitution which maintained the most objectionable elements of Crown Colony government, and was evidently intended to remain in force for a period of at least four years. They contended that the covering despatch of the Colonial Secretary did not contain arguments that justified the conclusion he arrived at, and regarded the new instrument as a practical extension and continuation of the hitherto existing system of Crown Colony government, basing their view upon the powers reserved to the Lieutenant-Governor, and the inclusion of an official element in the Legislative Assembly. The many obvious and essential points of difference between the two forms of government will be dealt with later on.

They denied that the self-governing colonies had undergone the various stages of progression towards self-government indicated by Mr Chamberlain in the House of Commons on 29th July 1902, and referred to by Mr Lyttelton, and in a later portion of their manifesto alleged that in the Cape, Natal and other colonies representative government was abandoned because of the friction created; but they were particularly unfortunate in their selection of examples, for, as Mr Lyttelton points out in his despatch, the form of Constitution conferred upon the Transvaal endured in the Cape Colony from the year 1853 to 1872, and in Natal from 1856 to 1893, and in those colonies proved to be the school for self-government. The Colonial Secretary showed himself fully alive to the possibility of friction that may arise in a Legislature composed partially of elected and partially of nominated members, instances of which occurred in both colonies, but the long period during which that form of government prevailed is the best evidence that it is unjustifiable to describe that friction as in any sense chronic or inevitable.

According to the Responsible Government Associa-

tion the opinion expressed by the Colonial Secretary as to parties in the Transvaal for some time yet mainly coinciding with the line of races had been falsified by the agreement arrived at between themselves, representing, as they alleged, the majority of the British population, and *Het Volk*. If their platform had been limited to a request for Responsible institutions only, they might have been entitled to the description they adopted because, doubtless, the majority of the British section of the population, in answer to a question as to whether they were in favour of Responsible Government or not, would have replied in the affirmative. It was the equivocal position of that Association upon other points in the platform of the Progressive Association with which the majority of the British party would certainly not have been in sympathy; and the agreement with *Het Volk*, upon which they plumed themselves so self-confidently, is the act which will in the end probably leave the Responsibles with a few leaders and scarcely any followers.

They repudiated the suggestion that the population of the Transvaal was unfamiliar with the principles of Responsible Government and of Party Government, "bearing in mind the origin and history of both sections of the population." It is unnecessary to discuss this contention in detail. Persons of British origin in the Transvaal are, of course, familiar with the free institutions of their native land, though but few probably have had any intimate connection with politics there, but the government with which the Dutch people were acquainted, though nominally republican, was in reality conducted upon oligarchical principles.

They denied that the new measure would give effective control of Legislation, and pointed out how a minority of the elected members, acting in conjunction with the nominated Executive, might place the majority

of elected representatives practically under the control of the elected minority. It is perhaps worth while to point out at once that this suggestion assumes the nominated members to be in conflict with the wishes of the people; and the further apprehension as to the Government possibly passing completely under the influence of a small but powerful section of the Legislature, and "not representing the real feelings or interests of the community as a whole," is a serious reflection on the judgment of the Governor of the Transvaal in his selection of representatives.

They objected to any reservation by the Home Government respecting legislation affecting the coloured races of the colony, claimed for the Legislature full and complete control of all revenue and expenditure, and expressed grave concern at the continuance of the Inter-Colonial Council, a body whose functions and utility have been dealt with in another chapter.[1] They also criticised the action of "certain prominent and representative persons who, in the words of the Colonial Secretary, undertook that the colony should make a contribution," upon the ground that they had no mandate from the people.

Following in the footsteps of *Het Volk* in pleading for a grant of representative institutions for the Orange River Colony, the Responsible Government party considered the arguments adduced for withholding it as wholly inadequate, unconvincing, and untenable, and further associated themselves with the Boer attitude by referring to the *Treaty* of Vereeniging. They drew attention to Clause 2, Section 3 of the Constitution, which deals with the qualification of voters, and specially provides for the inclusion of members of the First Volksraad, who might have been disqualified under any of the sub-sections of Clause 4, pleading for similar privileges for the members of the Second Volksraad.

[1] See p. 18.

The matter is of no vital consequence, as it affects so very few individuals, and may well have escaped the attention of the Imperial authorities. Their point that the Constitution omits a provision for the qualification of owners of property, and only mentions lessees or occupiers of premises and salaried persons, is puerile.

The question of there being no adequate provision for an increase in the members of the Legislature in proportion to a possible increase in the number of voters, to which they drew attention, will be of no practical importance for a considerable time, and can be discussed when the necessity arises.

They objected to a representative of the Crown presiding at meetings of the Legislative Assembly, and then declared that "it is an axiom of the British Constitution that all measures relating to the appropriation of revenue or to finance shall originate within the representative Assembly of the people." The control of the public purse by the Crown is one of the essential provisions of the new measure. To concede that point would be, in effect, to grant full Responsible Government, which was not intended. Nominally the power to initiate Legislation in regard to finance is retained by the Crown in all self-governing colonies, and even in Great Britain itself, because in the latter case the Crown appoints the Ministers in whom this power is exclusively vested, but there is the essential difference that they are chosen from elected representatives of the people, instead of, as under the new Constitution, by the Governor.

They considered that the reduction of allowances to members from £500 to £200 was calculated to restrict the choice of representatives to the more wealthy members of the community. It would certainly be undesirable in the Transvaal to make the payment sufficiently attractive for impecunious persons to seek election as a means of livelihood.

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Their point in regard to biennial registration not according with a six months' residential qualification cannot have been well considered, as they would surely not suggest a six-monthly registration; and otherwise the provision is not in conflict with the stipulation as to length of domicile.

It is satisfactory to turn from this long series of objections and fault-findings to the last clause in the pronouncement of the Executive Committee of the Responsible Government party, in which they express their decision "to act loyally and patriotically under the new Constitution," but retain their "unalterable conviction that internal contentment, progress and prosperity will not be attained by anything short of a full grant of Responsible Government." The rider is regrettable, more particularly as they declare their determination "to continue their endeavours to promote the welfare of the country and the smooth working of public institutions," which suggests that they do not intend to drop their agitation for wider powers than those conceded—a policy not entirely consistent with loyal and patriotic behaviour under the new Constitution, and one which, taken in conjunction with some of their utterances to which reference has been made in the preceding chapters, may lead to their putting into practice, if they remain a party and have power to do so, stratagems to defeat the successful working of the present charter in the hope of furthering their more ambitious desires. The least satisfactory sign in their manifesto is that it contains no single word of approval or recognition of the action of the Home Government, which does not augur well for that loyal and patriotic attitude foreshadowed in its concluding paragraph.

I will now turn to the communication upon the Constitution addressed to the people of the Transvaal, and sent to the Press by the Head Committee of *Het*

*Volk.* After setting out shortly the terms of the charter, the Head Committee says:—"These are the chief points of the Constitution for which the public of the Transvaal has waited so long and so patiently!" They are unable, they say, to dissemble the fact that "it will cause universal and deep dissatisfaction and even indignation. For almost every line of this document speaks of deep distrust of the people of the Transvaal, and more particularly of the Boers." They dispute the contention of the Colonial Secretary "that the politics of the new colonies would involuntarily follow racial lines," on the ground that the Responsible Government party and *Het Volk* "are already agreed on the principal points of our present and future policy." They contend that, as the new Constitution agrees almost entirely with the policy of the Progressive party, it is "based on misunderstanding and on unfounded and perverted information supplied to His Majesty's government," and attribute the denial of a Constitution to the Orange River Colony to "the fear above mentioned and this misunderstanding."

They claim that the Government will be entirely independent of the Legislature, because the latter is denied the power to interfere with the salary of its members "as a proof of no confidence or disapprobation of its acts."

> "Between one-fifth and one-fourth of the members are appointed, and will always suffice to turn the scale on the side which the Government favours, and pass disastrous proposals, as, for instance, the one with regard to the taking over of a war debt of £30,000,000."

They regard the limitation of powers of the Legislative Assembly as giving it "the appearance more of a debating society than of a serious parliament of a country like the Transvaal," and cite as an instance the reservation in favour of the Government *re* the introduction

of financial proposals, as well as the power of the Governor to refuse approval to any law in reference to natives or Asiatics, "although the people of this country are almost wholly unanimous in their desire for such Legislation."

They point out that the Legislative Assembly will have nothing to say anent the South African constabulary, "although this police force is generally regarded as an unnecessary burden on the country," and take great exception to the control of railway revenue remaining vested in the Inter-Colonial Council, whose management of the railways they describe as causing "widespread and justified public dissatisfaction." This is selected as "only one of the many evidences of the impracticability of this Constitution."

"Regarding the unpractical and humiliating provision that a Boer shall not have the right to speak in his own language in the Assembly, but remain dependent on the whims of the Chairman, we do not wish to speak." They then protest against the principle of "one vote, one value," and declare that a third or fourth part of the Transvaal will have the same number of representatives as a part of Pretoria or a small portion of Johannesburg, the constituencies with an equal number of voters being defined by "an irresponsible commission of three persons."

> "Every four years the existing Government will appoint a new Commission of three to revise this division, and to cut and size the country up in such a way as to give the ruling party another four years' term of power."

They object to a candidate having to deposit £100, even where he may be a poor working-man in whom his fellow-workers repose more confidence than in a rich candidate, and point to the absence of express limitations regarding election expenses as proving the one-sidedness of the Constitution, and the distrust "with

which the poor or less privileged section of the public is regarded." This is most deplorable, they say, in a country where the number of rich is so small in comparison with that of the poor, and where in consequence the power which the monied classes wield is so unusually large. "The tendency of the present Constitution is but to increase this power, and to widen the gulf which separates the rich from the poor."

Regarding the passage in the accompanying letter of the Colonial Secretary, in which he speaks of the Constitution embracing the final view of His Majesty's Government as to how far it would be justifiable to proceed at the present time, and in which he invokes the blessing of God's providence upon it, they say, "This prayer we echo with all our heart, and with all the more fervour because our aim is the furtherance of the rights, the prosperity, and the welfare of the entire country and its people, and not only of a portion of the people." They express the earnest wish and hope that "the deplorable consequences which are to be expected of this one-sided Constitution may be averted by a speedy change, and that the English people and Government may realise that the happiness and prosperity of the Transvaal are to be advanced only by placing a manly trust in its people, and by maintaining those principles of justice and equity which have made the British Constitution an example to so many other countries; an example which has, alas, not been followed in any essential in the Constitution which now lies before us."

They conclude their remarkable review, signed by General Botha as Chairman (on behalf of the Head Committee), by saying that while they feel called upon themselves to make these preliminary remarks on the Constitution, they leave the final decision to the people's Congress, presently to be called.

Here we have a document framed obviously to

prejudice every Boer in the country against the new Constitution, one which refuses to recognise any generosity in its conception, and approaches every provision from a captious standpoint. It is, of course, premature to expect a friendly disposition on the part of the Boers. It is puerile to imagine that three years after a hard-fought war, resulting in their defeat and in the destruction of their aspirations, the conquered nation, composed as it is of virile and tenacious elements, should have outlived its animosities. Any affectation of such an attitude would be rank hypocrisy, and this reasonable view of the case explains why the great majority of the British portion of the population disagree entirely with that section of the Responsible Government party which made the pact with *Het Volk*. The disapproval of the Constitution, expressed by that body, was to be anticipated, as nothing short of full Responsible Government, coupled with electoral conditions that would have bestowed upon them the control of the Legislature, would have in their eyes coincided with "the welfare of the entire country and its people."

One or two remarks, however, are called for upon their dissection of the provisions contained in the Constitution. Firstly, upon what ground do they justify the assertion that they have waited so long and so patiently? Surely the retention of the Crown Colony system of government for a few years longer would not have been unreasonable, and in the face of the criticisms which the Boer leaders have launched at the new measure, the British Government, which in the last resort is still responsible for the Transvaal, will congratulate themselves that they have still retained a grasp upon the country.

The *Het Volk* party has made a number of important admissions, amongst which may be mentioned:—

(*a*) Their absolute opposition to any war contribution.

(*b*) That they would favour the raising of a loan to be divided

amongst sufferers by the war, the selection of whom would not, in their hands, be difficult.

(*c*) That they ignore the advantages reaped by the Transvaal from the Imperial guarantee of the £35,000,000 loan.

(*d*) That the assistance afforded them since the war is not recognised.

(*e*) That the position of a member of the Government would be very precarious if they had the control over his salary.

(*f*) That they would abolish the South African Constabulary.

(*g*) That in the matter of education, if they had the power, the medium of instruction, anyhow during the period that their children stay at school, would be Dutch, in this respect going a step further than the Cape or the Orange River Colony.

As to the use of the *Taal* in the Legislature there is no ground for supposing that the President will withhold his consent in any unreasonable way. The objection raised by the Boer leaders does not stop with the aspiration to have the right to use it in speaking. To concede such a right would be the signal for a demand that the minutes should be recorded in the dual languages, for how otherwise could the non-English speaking representatives be sure that they were faithfully reported, or that the proceedings and resolutions were truly recorded?

Upon the subject of the *Taal* it may be opportune to say that every one in South Africa recognises the love which the people have for it, and no one would dream of attempting to banish it from the homes or to debar the use of it in general intercourse between the persons who speak it, but it has no place among the recognised languages of the world, and has only a family resemblance to the Dutch of the Netherlands. It was originally introduced into South Africa by persons, the majority of whom were illiterate—and has since been corrupted by Malay, Portuguese, Kaffir, and Hottentot words. It is practically unwritten and highly ungrammatical, and while it may endure as the

common tongue in Boer households for many years to come, its existence cannot be permanent. No artificial attempt to perpetuate it can be successful, and so it would be absurd to give it any official standing. Notwithstanding these remarks I do not wish to underrate the great sentiment which very naturally attaches to it in the minds of the people, particularly as they believe that somehow or other their existence as a nation is dependent upon its survival.

The ungenerous spirit in which the Boers approach the subject of the Constitution is shown in their references to "an irresponsible Commission of three persons" who are to define the new Constituencies, and in whom, it must be remembered, is vested the discretionary power of 5 per cent. either above or below the quota of voters in their delimitation of the electoral areas. This, it may be noticed in passing, is equal to a 10 per cent. margin, as in one district they may allow a member for a number of inhabitants 5 per cent. below, and in another district 5 per cent. above, the required quota of voters. Surely it ill becomes them to describe as "irresponsible" a Commission appointed by the King's representative.

The formation of electoral areas on the basis of population instead of voters would have told in favour of the Boers, and it is not therefore to be wondered at that they disapprove of the method adopted, but the former basis would have tended to favour the country districts unduly against the towns, where it must be remembered that industrial life is represented by a hard-working and capable body of men, and where, moreover, the great bulk of the revenue is provided.

Their objection to the appointment of a Commission every four years to readjust boundaries takes the form of a direct accusation of favouritism against the Government, whom they do not hesitate to charge with the intention of issuing a mandate to the Commission "to

give the ruling party another four years term of power." Let us glance at the facts of the case as disclosed by the Constitution.

Clause 6 and the respective sub-sections deal with the appointment of Commissioners to divide the Transvaal into thirty or thirty-five districts, and in carrying out this duty they are instructed to give due consideration to

(*a*) Existing boundaries of wards, municipalities and magisterial districts, or other like divisions of the colony.
(*b*) Community or diversity of interest.
(*c*) Means of communication.
(*d*) Physical features.

The object with which these injunctions are given is clear. The Commissioners are to be guided by the equities of the case, and under British institutions it is customary to choose men for a delicate duty of this description whose characters are above suspicion, whose intelligence and qualifications are undeniable, and who are the last persons to be induced to perform the mean office which the Boer leaders do not scruple to suggest.

Their affected concern for the poor working-man, who may not be able to find the £100 required as a deposit against election expenses, can only be described as playing up to the gallery. Their assertion that there is to be "no limit to the election expenses of the rich man who wants to secure the required number of votes" is incorrect, as special provision is made in that regard in Clause 54, Subsections 1 and 2, of the Order in Council, in the latter of which the power is vested in the Lieutenant-Governor to fix the maximum expenses permitted to any candidate, and it may be fairly assumed that he will fulfil the trust imposed upon him with justice and discretion. The power of the rich,

of which they affect such fear, is thus clearly restricted, and the fact that votes are to be recorded by ballot, removes any chance of large employers of labour being able to use undue influence at the elections.

Towards the close of their fractious and ill-conceived review of the Constitution they lay stress on their oft proclaimed aim—the furtherance of the rights, the prosperity and the welfare of the entire country and its people, and do not hesitate to charge His Majesty's Government, by innuendo, with favouring one portion of the people only. The "manly trust in its people" which they urge the Government and the English people to place in the Transvaal, will certainly not be withheld when the Legislature shows by its actions that such a trust would not be violated, but the reception accorded to the Constitution by the leaders of *Het Volk* and by the persons who at present speak for the Responsible Government party will scarcely be considered by the British Government and people as satisfactory omens.

The decision which the People's Congress may take, "presently to be called," according to the Head Committee, will be awaited with much interest in England and in the Transvaal. If an opinion were to be framed from the "preliminary remarks" offered by the leaders it would be, in the words of Lord Milner at the farewell banquet in Johannesburg, uttered before the publication of the Constitution, that they intended to refuse "to play the game because the rules were not exactly in all particulars what suited them." Any action of that description would recoil upon them. But those who have followed the Boer mind as exposed in debate during the days of the First Volksraad will not hastily conclude that when the Congress is held the Boer leaders will advise their people to have nothing to do with the Constitution, because of the sweeping condemnation they have passed upon that instrument. In the days of the

South African Republic it was not an uncommon occurrence for a measure to be passed unanimously, or with a few dissentients, in spite of its having been violently assailed by a great number of members in the course of the debate, and having therefore apparently been in jeopardy. The late President had a favourite specific for securing the obedience of the Raad, which consisted in declaring, no matter what the subject under discussion, that it involved the independence of the State.

It will indeed be surprising if in spite of the ill favour with which the new instrument has been received, the leaders—and in politics that means the Boers—will refrain from participating. The recent advice of the Head Committee to all the people to register, since "to register does not mean to vote," suggests that the Boer policy is to have this vote in readiness, and to use the interval before the polling day approaches to secure a fuller measure of autonomy and certain special advantages for the Dutch party, if possible. At the closing sitting of the Boer Congress, on Saturday, 8th July 1905, the speeches of the leaders let in a flood of light upon their tactics. General Botha, in returning thanks to the members for the re-election of the Head Committee, made a speech from which some interesting sentences may be quoted. After referring to the people having placed a certain amount of confidence in him in the past, and having again made a call upon his services, the report continues: "When a man had been their leader in the days of their prosperity, he should also be prepared to place his services at their disposal in the days of their adversity. It was of the greatest importance that he should receive their co-operation, and he hoped that the tree they had planted, small as it was now, would under their protection grow into the biggest tree in South Africa." He then proceeded to tell the audience that they had decided to call another Congress to consider the question of taking

part under the Constitution, in regard to which he stated he had so far not given his own opinion; and went on to say "if there were no further underhand working with regard to the military vote, if there were honest dealings in connection with registration, if the districts were honestly divided, and if there was no further underhand business, then, he thought, it would be better for the people of the Transvaal if the Constitution, however wrong it might be in some respects, were accepted, and he would go into Parliament and fight for the rights of the people."

Dealing further with the question of co-operation, to which reference had been made at the Congress, he said that if they followed his principle they would endeavour to make "one people of the different nationalities who were *permanently* settled in the Transvaal." The italics are not in the report of the speech, but are used to lay emphasis upon the word, because the Boers constantly refer to any settlers not actually in possession of land, or whose pursuits are in other directions, as not being identified with the permanent welfare of the country. "No matter whether they were Englishmen, Germans, Hollanders, or Boers, if their interests were permanently vested in this country, the doors of their organisation must be thrown open to them." He deplored any steps being taken in the shape of requisitions to stand for the new Legislature until *Het Volk* had decided for or against participating under the Constitution. He then announced that their organisation had come to an arrangement with the editor and proprietor of the *Volksstem*, by which that paper would be recognised as the organ of *Het Volk*, and that steps had been taken to prevent its falling into the hands of capitalists or anybody else. The *Volksstem* is controlled by a Hollander, and its utterances from the date of its first appearance have been consistently anti-British.

Mr Ewald Esselen followed, and, after expressing

his appreciation of the honour conferred upon him by his re-election to the Head Committee, made a speech which, according to the translation, is not on the whole very interesting or intelligible. He said some things, however, that are worth reproducing. "Who was it who took their independence from them? Was it not the Conservative party? And who gave them their independence back? Was it not that great Liberal party with Gladstone in it?" These remarks are reported as having been received with loud applause. The speaker went on to say that as long as they were an independent republic they were against the principle of mixing themselves up with British party politics, but now that they were a part of the British Empire their duty was to have a say in Imperial politics. Therefore he asked:—"Who was it who, twenty years after the events of which he had spoken, had played the political Judas with them? Chamberlain. And who the political murderer? Milner. And what could they expect from the Conservatives? Only what experience of the past had taught them to expect." He concluded this portion of his address by asserting that it was now "plainly their duty to acknowledge all that the Liberal party had done for them." The members of the Congress appear to have greeted these remarks with applause, and the adulation of the Liberal party is transparent; but in this connection it is fair to remark that another leader of *Het Volk* evidently did not share Mr Esselen's view. In the course of his speech at the Congress a few days before, General Beyers said "He did not know what those present thought of the Liberals, but in his opinion an English Government was an English Government, and he had no confidence in them. He expected nothing from a Liberal Government." As the General's remarks were also applauded it is impossible to arrive at the general opinion of the members of the Congress regarding the Liberal party. Allusion has been made from

time to time to the outspoken frankness of General Beyers. Whether he expresses the sentiments entertained towards the English by the majority of the Boer people or not, every one must admire the honesty with which he speaks his mind, and there is a good deal of force in what he himself said at the final sitting of the Congress: "He should always express his opinions, for he never spoke without a settled conviction, and he trusted he would be excused if, possessing strong convictions, he occasionally used strong language. There were other people who also used equally strong language, but they did it in private rooms, and moderated the language in public. He did not."

The attitude of the Boer leaders towards the Constitution is not difficult to understand. They have subjected all its provisions to a searching and hostile criticism, with the hope of inducing the Imperial Government to modify it in accordance with their ideas, and threaten to abstain from exercising their rights with the same object in view. Should the Liberal party succeed to power before the Transvaal elections take place, it is unlikely that they will contemplate any alteration in the Constitution, prior to its being put into operation, more particularly as the measure is framed upon strictly democratic lines. Some people are inclined to hold the opinion that the Head Committee of *Het Volk* does not entirely represent Boer opinion. From a study of the speeches made at all the more important meetings held in the Transvaal, and bearing in mind the extraordinary unanimity which prevailed, as well as the absence of any disposition to ask questions or to dispute the course of action, I am not able to share that view.

There are, however, one or two exceptions which should be mentioned. On the 5th May a meeting was held in the Grand National Hotel at Johannesburg, at

which about seventy ex-burghers assembled, with the object of forming a moderate Dutch party, which would accept the new Constitution, give it a fair trial, and receive it as a step on the way to full Self-Government. Commandant Dereksen presided, and speeches were delivered in which the Boer generals, and especially General Louis Botha, were severely criticised for remaining in the field so long when they knew the war was lost, and exception was taken to the condemnation of the new measure by *Het Volk*. A good deal of feeling appears to have been displayed, and some opposition was offered, so that no great importance should be attached to this very inharmonious meeting. The Chairman stated that the rejection of the Constitution would be a mistake, as Boer and Briton should work heartily together and give it a fair trial; but the general conclusions to be drawn from the gathering are that it only affords evidence of very trifling dissensions in the Boer camp.

The only other notable instance of objection to the policy of *Het Volk* is contained in a letter published by Mr J. A. Neser, J.P., the Mayor of Klerksdorp, a leading solicitor and notary of that town, in the course of which he reviews the criticisms of the Boer leaders at length. "If," he wrote, "the Imperial Government were so full of distrust and suspicion against the Boers as is attempted to be made out, they could, without trouble and with a good show of reason, have granted the franchise to landowners who reside out of the country, and among whom are a considerable number of born Britons, or they could have granted more than one vote to rich people who own land in different parts of the country, amongst whom there are a considerable number of British capitalists, not to make any mention of powerful British land companies that possess an enormous amount of fixed property in the Transvaal."

He also disposes of the absurd contention that was

raised by the Responsible Government party regarding the landowner. It is true, as he points out, that two votes cannot be given, namely that of the owner and of the occupier, in respect of the same fixed property, but if the owner himself occupies his house and land, there is no doubt whatever that he is a qualified voter in respect thereof, but if the house and land are occupied by a lessee then the right to vote devolves upon him. But a landowner, resident in the Transvaal, though not upon his own property, will be entitled to vote by virtue of occupation unless the rent falls below the specified annual £10. He also deals in a very sensible manner with the objection to the appointment of an official Executive Council, and indicates that as the members would represent the interests of the King and the Imperial Government, which are so great in the Transvaal, they would be untrue to their oath to support measures contrary to its welfare. He strongly advises the Boers not to sulk in a corner, but to take their part in the political work of the country.

In considering the views of Mr Neser, it must not be forgotten that he would be regarded by the Boer leaders, and therefore practically by the whole of the Boer population, as tainted with English sympathies.

Turning from the captious criticism of the Responsible Government Association and *Het Volk*, it is pleasant to take note of the avowed satisfaction and gratitude with which the measure was accepted by the rest of the European population, and particularly by the Progressive party. Though it is true that most of the provisions which that party viewed with favour have been incorporated, certain variations have been introduced, as to which they might have expressed dissent, notably the provision of a margin of 10 per cent. in the formation of constituencies, which is a departure from the principle of "one vote, one value," and is evidently intended as a concession to the country districts.

A large meeting of the Progressive Association was held in Johannesburg on 12th May, at which Sir George Farrar presided, and made a speech of great interest. Interpreting the policy of the Association, he said that the object was to obtain Responsible Government as quickly as possible upon constitutional lines. He defended the grant of representative institutions as a stepping-stone to a wider measure, and as being in accordance with the terms of Vereeniging, pointing out that in constitutional questions it was always possible to go forward, but never to go back. He advised his hearers to hurry on the industrial development of the country, but to be in no hurry to relieve the Imperial Government of all the responsibility connected with its administration.

He referred to the arguments used for Responsible Government, based upon the action of Lord Durham in 1840 concerning Canada, as offering no parallel to the situation in the Transvaal. After extolling the bravery of the Boers, who defied the might of the British Empire, unaided by any European power, and whom he declared they all honoured, he quoted the action taken by Abraham Lincoln after the Civil War as offering a better illustration to apply to the Transvaal, and said, "No one would stand up in that meeting and say Lincoln was not a great patriot, and what did he do? Lincoln never wavered a hair's-breadth from the position he gained from success. He jerry-mandered every constituency, he disfranchised the landowners, he gave the vote to coloured men, and he did everything in his power to maintain the supremacy that victory gave him." He proceeded to say that they did not want in the Transvaal any action of that kind, as the war had been fought to gain equality for all white people in the country, but if historical precedents were to be quoted, the case of the Southerners in the United States would be a better example than that of

Canada. He then made a quotation from the advice given by General Lee to the Southerners, which he evidently intended for Boer consumption: "All should unite in honest efforts to obliterate the effects of the war and to restore the blessings of peace, promote harmony and good feeling, qualify themselves to vote and elect to the State wise and patriotic men who will devote their abilities to the interests of the country and the healing of all dissensions."

Sir George Farrar then referred to his having lived in Johannesburg from the day the first sod was turned, to having seen the people in their troubles, and to having fought side by side with them, and he maintained they had ever been generous and broad-minded men, ready to extend the hand of friendship to the older population: he had seen the balance of Justice held possibly more in favour of the older population than of the new: he had seen compensation paid to the old rather than to the newer settlers, but no complaints had been raised by the community. They had accepted the position with the object of making friends to-day of those who had been their enemies before, and of promoting peace and goodwill. He declared that those who wished to go behind the Terms of Surrender and obtain Responsible Government immediately, would have to prove that the country was so absolutely mismanaged that the change was necessary, and he denied this absolutely. He made a comparison between the financial position of the Transvaal and that of the two self-governing colonies of South Africa. According to the statement of the Treasurer of the Cape Colony, the gross revenue for 1904-5 was £8,500,000, and the deficit would be £731,696. In Natal over the same period, with a gross revenue of approximately £3,342,000, the deficit was £583,000. In the Transvaal the revenue was in excess of the expenditure. Against the revenue of the respective colonies they

had debts, amounting, in the case of the Cape Colony, to £44,563,000, and in Natal to £18,019,000, while the inter-colonial debt of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony amounted to £35,000,000, with a revenue of approximately £9,800,000. The financial position, therefore, he stated, could not be taken as evidence of mismanagement.

He proceeded to deal with the railways, and quoted from the Report of the Civil Service Commission of the Cape Colony, by which it was shown that £100,000 had been expended in clerical assistance alone in excess of requirements, besides an extra outlay of £30,000 upon coal which could have been avoided. He was able to say, "In this colony there was no need for any Civil Service Commission." Further on, in defence of the Government, he dealt with the cost of managing the railway lines, and showed a favourable comparison between the cost of working on the Central South African railways against those of Natal. It is unnecessary to follow him through his able defence of the Administration upon the railway question or his plea for the maintenance of the Inter-colonial Council.

He then referred to the reservations by His Majesty's Government regarding the position of the natives, and in the course of his remarks said, "all agreed that they would not give a franchise of any kind to the natives." This statement was received with applause, and I quote it because it requires very grave consideration, both in England and in the Transvaal. It is unnecessary to make further comment upon the question here, as it has been dealt with in a previous chapter, but it will not be out of place to say that time and a very careful study of the Report by the South African Native Affairs Commission may temper the attitude which is not uncommonly adopted in the Transvaal on this subject.

I have analysed at length Sir George Farrar's arguments, because they represent to my view the

best Transvaal opinion on the question. As a counter-blast the Head Committee of *Het Volk* convened a meeting in Johannesburg, which was held on the 16th May, and to which reference has already been made in another connection. There are some points in the proceedings relating to the Constitution which call for notice. Towards the conclusion of his speech General Botha intimated that a Congress would shortly take place at Pretoria to decide whether the organisation would take part under the Constitution or not. An ambiguity appears when we contrast this statement with the remarks that he frequently made with reference to Lord Selborne. In the latter connection he invited *Het Volk* to co-operate unanimously to make his reception as happy as possible, "and show him that they were a race who loved order in this country, that they were not a people who endeavoured to start trouble, but that they meant to co-operate with him in the Government, and to show further that they deserved the full confidence, not only of himself, but of the entire Imperial Government." Should the Congress decide not to take part in the Constitution, it will only be at the instigation of the Head Committee, which would not be in accordance with the professions of General Botha, and it is therefore reasonable to conclude that the Congress will decide to accept the rights accorded by the Constitution.

At the same meeting General Smuts made a forcible speech, of which he devoted a considerable portion to a criticism of the Progressive Association and its supporters, and he charged the Government with grossly mismanaging the railways and with favouritism. He stigmatised the new form of Government as having proved "a ghastly failure in the Cape and Natal," and said: "We do not want Representative Government because it is going to raise a conflict and going to breed strife and dissension between the Government

and the people." He urged every one to "do everything within his power to spread conciliation, and forget the things that divided them in the past, and offer the hand of friendship, and so work together for the future benefit of this country." General Beyers brought the proceedings to a close, in a strain with which we are familiar, and said, "I must tell you candidly that I don't possess the same loyalty as an Englishman to-day. I have given my word of honour to be obedient to the laws of the country, and I hope to carry out my word." The significance of this is perfectly clear: General Beyers does not contemplate rebellion in any sense, but he and all the other Boer leaders are trying to split up the British party upon the question of Representative or Responsible Government, with the object, if successful, of effecting a Boer ascendency in the Legislature.

A few remarks, in conclusion, should be made on points in the Constitution that have not so far been touched upon. Clause 2 of the Letters Patent, and sub-section 2 of Clause 3, deal with the appointment of the nominated members of the Legislative Assembly, all of whom are required to be selected from persons holding office under the Crown. Nothing in the Letters Patent, however, precludes the Governor from selecting elected members for ministerial positions, but the acceptance by any member of such a position would constitute the holding of office under the Crown. It is a moot point whether or not under Clause 36 of the Order in Council the appointment of an elected member to a ministerial position would cause a vacancy in his constituency, according to the British practice.

Under Clause 7 provision is made for biennial registration of voters to be "commenced and undertaken not later than the last day of March in the year next but one after the last preceding registration." Assuming that the registration is completed before the end of 1905,

the next registration would begin before the end of March 1907, leaving, in the first instance, possibly an interval of only fifteen months.

Payment of members under Clause 67 is fixed at £2 for every day of the session, the maximum for any one year not to exceed £200. The payment seems extremely reasonable, not being high enough on the one hand to attract professional politicians, and not too low to leave uncovered the expenses of those who give their services to the country. The fixing of a maximum contemplates only sessions of one hundred days duration, which should be adequate for the legislative work of the Transvaal.

The covering despatch of Mr Lyttelton to Sir Arthur Lawley discloses a complete grasp of the situation in the Transvaal, and furnishes evidence of the great thought and labour devoted to the subject by the British Government. It is an eloquent proof of the high-minded generosity and the honesty of purpose of the Colonial Secretary, and of his earnest desire to spread contentment amongst the people, and to conciliate the divers and conflicting elements in the country.

# CHAPTER X

## A SUMMARY AND A FORECAST

THE departure of Lord Milner brought to a close the most important chapter in Transvaal history. In becoming High Commissioner in 1897 he could not have been under any delusion as to the difficulties before him. He was then in his forty-third year, had already earned great distinction in the public service, and proceeded upon his mission with the approbation of eminent men in England representing all shades of political thought. He approached the immense task in the right spirit, announcing his intention of studying the South African situation for a year before committing himself to an opinion. Applying his acute intelligence and broad-minded sympathies to the problem with an energy peculiarly his own, he undoubtedly aimed at winning the confidence and allegiance of the Dutch by pursuing a conciliatory policy and by making concessions to their legitimate desires. He hoped and probably expected to succeed, where his predecessors had failed, in reconciling the two white races. He had yet to learn that the British flag stood in the way, and that the national aspirations of the Dutch were centred upon uniting South Africa under a Republican flag of their own design. It was a rude awakening to discover that no diplomatic treatment would eradicate the deep-rooted disease.

The Transvaal war of 1881 and the disastrous retrocession left that country triumphant and bent upon

becoming entirely independent, and in process of time the seeds of disaffection were scattered broadcast in the Cape Colony. Under the fostering hands of the Africander Bond they grew, but were skilfully kept underground. It was Lord Milner who raked up the surface and exposed the mischief.

The arrival of Lord Selborne marks a new era. He made his formal entry into Cape Town on the 16th of May, and was accorded a friendly, though not a demonstrative, reception. In the Transvaal the welcome extended to him was all that could have been expected or desired. Good manners and good policy alike inclined the people to receive the new representative of the Crown with respect; apart from which the position and reputation of Lord Selborne rendered his acceptance of the office a compliment to South Africa. The co-operation of the Boer leaders is satisfactory, but must not be construed as of serious political importance. Gratitude has been cynically defined as "a lively sense of favours to come." A similar definition might be applied to the underlying motives for greeting the High Commissioner with warmth.

In his first speeches Lord Selborne created a good impression by the neutral tone he adopted, and by avoiding all reference to the important questions of the day. His reserve betokens an intention to study the conditions and to form his own conclusions. The qualities most needed after mastering the situation are strength, tact and patience; the work before him, though great, requiring rather urbanity and cool judgment than brilliant statesmanship. Lord Milner, in facing the late struggle and in retaining office up to the introduction of Representative Government, has cleared the ground. If some of the noxious weeds show signs of taking root again they must be torn up at once or they will spread, for the past is the cradle of the future, and the sufferings and

sacrifices of the late war might have been averted if twenty-five years ago the dictates of common-sense had been followed.

In his conversations with the Boer leaders Lord Selborne will be told that they were unable to work with his predecessor for obvious reasons, but that they entertain no doubt about being able to co-operate with him. They will impress upon him their loyal acceptance of the British flag and affirm that their earnest desire is to promote the welfare of the entire country and its people. They will charm him with their frankness of manner and persuade him possibly that the spirit of Krugerism is dead.

Every one acquainted with them is familiar with the apparent sincerity, simplicity, and irresistible reasonableness of the attitude they assume. "We can settle all the differences in half an hour. All we want is fairplay." It takes a little time to learn that their conception of "fairplay" and their concern for "the entire people" have an application solely to their own race. The spirit of particularism that characterises their point of view has been demonstrated beyond dispute in the past, and scarcely needs emphasising anew.

In a speech delivered on the 10th June, at the annual dinner of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers in Pretoria, General Botha reiterated his plea for unity among the white men of the Transvaal, but a dispassionate consideration of his words makes it clear that he was merely bidding for the vote of the working man. He declared that the late President Kruger "always had an open ear for the working man, and the impoverished condition of the Boer to-day had drawn him closer to the working man." It is unnecessary to discuss whether the ear of the late President Kruger was open or shut to the class named, but it is certain that nothing entering his brain through

the medium of that organ resulted in a relaxation of the disabilities of the non-burgher population, no matter what their condition in life. "They must make the country a great one, and a country of love and peace. The different sections of the white people must join hands to make one great race in the country." If utterances of this description betokened a sincere intention to drop the race question, they would be of the greatest value, but they are in truth merely political artifices to allure recruits into the Boer party.

Referring to Lord Selborne as a man in whom great confidence was reposed, General Botha said: "Let us support him from all sides so that he can lead us in the way of prosperity and blessing." No one can find fault with that sentiment, but in the face of the action taken by *Het Volk* respecting the Constitution, the provisions of which are binding upon the High Commissioner, the force of the words uttered by General Botha is necessarily weakened. No event of happier augury for the Transvaal could possibly take place than the disappearance of the race question, and the abandonment by the Boers of their aspiration to run the country according to their own ideals. It would be folly of the worst order, however, to accept mere words on their part as evidence, when their actions point the other way.

The organisation of *Het Volk*, for instance, has expressed the strongest possible objection to either the South African Constabulary or the members of any military force being allowed to vote under the new Constitution. According to British ideas and the Military Manual, the soldier does not lose his rights of citizenship, and no valid objection against their voting exists if they are duly qualified. The members of the South African Constabulary may be regarded as inhabitants of the Transvaal in the same sense as the rest of the working population. Regiments temporarily

stationed there are not in the same category, but under the Constitution it would seem unlikely that many troops would have the right to vote, particularly as pay received from the Imperial Government would not serve as a qualification, even if it reached the stipulated amount.

The real state of the case is that, in objecting to this class of the population exercising the franchise, the Boers are actuated by a belief that their votes would not be cast in favour of the Dutch party. In the Republican days, the members of the *Staats Artillerie* comprised not only Transvaalers, but many Hollanders, Germans, and persons of other nationalities who, upon entering the force, became *ipso facto* burghers of the State, and in that capacity were entitled to vote.

Boer domination is the keynote of every act of the leaders, in spite of anything they may say to the contrary, as manifested in their tactics and in their attitude towards the Constitution. No opportunity has been lost to pick holes in the measure, and no acknowledgment of its generous provisions has been made. According to the *Star* of the 8th June last, no less than 32,250 ex-burghers would be entitled to the franchise under a clause of the new Constitution, without reference to their present qualifications. The leaders of *Het Volk* cannot be unconscious of the exceptional treatment accorded to the Dutch, but they ignore it as a matter of principle, and devote the whole weight of their influence to destructive criticism, and to endeavouring to sow dissension in the British camp.

By entering into an agreement with the Responsible Government party, without conceding a single substantial point, the Boer leaders aimed at splitting the British vote with the object of securing a majority in the Legislature. The guilelessness of the leaders of the Responsible Government Association is illustrated by their failure to realise that no agreement between irresponsible

persons before the elections can effectively bind a party duly placed in power by the will of the people. The weak point of the pact was immediately perceived in the Transvaal, and will probably result in there being only two parties at the polls—the Progressive party, representing the British side; and *Het Volk*, representing the Dutch side. The leaders of the Responsible Government party have placed their followers in a dilemma, for although *all* parties favour the introduction of full Self-Government when Great Britain sees fit to grant it, there will only be a sprinkling of extremists on the British side who will risk the creation of a Boer majority by voting with *Het Volk*.

The constitution and conduct of the first Parliament under the representative charter will be scanned with deep interest in South Africa and in Great Britain, where there cannot be any disposition to withhold a measure of greater freedom the moment the interests of the Empire would not be jeopardised by doing so. A glance at the questions addressed to Ministers in the House of Commons enables us to appreciate the relief it would be to reply: "The Transvaal enjoys full self-government, and the matter is therefore not one with which His Majesty's Government feels called upon to interfere." But for a conscientious belief that the bestowal of Responsible Government might be fraught with danger, the British Government would shift the burden to-morrow. The multitude of questions connected with Home and Foreign affairs are sufficiently harassing to make it obvious that a grasp upon the Transvaal is only retained because, to use a common South African simile, the Transvaal coach is about to be drawn by a new team, handled by untried drivers, and the persons ultimately responsible wish to travel with them upon the road until they feel it safe to leave them in sole charge.

Political freedom is highly prized by all English-

speaking communities, but it can be bought too dearly. The control of affairs by a Boer majority, armed with powers of Self-Government, might lead to complications, and would inevitably cause unrest and tend to restrict industrial expansion. Capital and enterprise are two essentials in the Transvaal, both of which are attracted by settled conditions and repelled by comparatively trifling disquieting symptoms. Apart from these considerations, a period of education under representative institutions will be of no disadvantage to the recognised leaders of to-day, and may reveal administrative qualifications in some of the elected members not suspected or distinguishable in them in their professional or business capacity.

Defects and inconsistencies in the Constitution may be discovered when it is put into operation, and the British Government will not hesitate to sanction desirable amendments, but any deliberate attempt to render the charter unworkable, by refusing supplies or by blocking tactics with the idea of forcing the Imperial Cabinet into granting Responsible Government, would be resisted with the unanimous approval of the British people. So far from attaining their object, recalcitrants pursuing such a course might find, contrary to their expectation, an extension of the authority vested in the Executive. Imitation of the methods of Irish Nationalism will not coerce responsible statesmen in England. It is unpleasant to contemplate the possibility of such an attitude, which would appear to be on the whole improbable, for although the Boers and some of the British are dissatisfied with the instalment of power, they will all realise, by the time the new Legislature gets to work, that they are dependent upon the goodwill of the Home authorities for an extension of rights, and must therefore exert themselves to win their confidence.

The first elections, as Mr Lyttelton pointed out,

will certainly be fought upon racial lines. If parties are nearly equal in strength the line of cleavage in the Legislature during the first session or two will likewise be racial, but gradually other factors, especially conflicting material interests, will produce other divisions. Full Self-Government can be safely conceded when the appeal to the electors becomes based upon the treatment of mining, landed, industrial, commercial, municipal, educational, or other internal subjects, and the race question drops into the background.

The best specific for accelerating the speed at which this condition may be reached would be a frank declaration by both sides of the House of Commons that no material change in the present Constitution will be considered until the inhabitants show that their energies are devoted to promoting the progress of the colony, and not to sustaining the race feud. It is an Imperial and not a party question. For the parliamentary representatives of the British nation to take this course would be a justifiable exercise of imperial authority, and no one in the Transvaal would have a logical right to object. It would be a true policy of conciliation, pandering neither to the British nor to the Boers, and demonstrating the intention and the desire to confer the fullest measure of liberty directly the internal conditions of the country point to its being used in a proper way.

A passing reference should be made to the recent proposal to continue the Crown Colony form of government for the next few years, with some modifications in the membership of the Legislative Council. The suggestion, which seems to have emanated from the leaders of the Responsible Government party and *Het Volk*, appears to have contemplated a remodelling of the Legislative Council by the exclusion of all the official members except the members of the Executive Council, and the substitution of about twenty unofficial

members chosen by the Government from lists to be supplied by the three existing organisations, viz: *Het Volk*, and the Responsible Government and Progressive Associations. It is unnecessary to deal at length with the project, which has no likelihood of maturing. The Imperial Government, after acceding to the clamour for a wider measure of representation, and after devoting a great deal of thought and time to the Constitution recently promulgated, are not likely to nullify their labours at the instance of a certain number of Transvaal politicians. The populace would naturally be disappointed if they were suddenly deprived of their promised right to elect representatives, and the alternative offers no guarantee either that the administration of the country would be improved or the contentment of the people promoted by the novel proposals submitted to the High Commissioner. It is extremely unlikely that the Progressive Association would support the suggested innovation. According to the *Times* of 14th September, the total number of registered voters in the Transvaal amounts to 80,406, which may offer a reason why certain persons hesitate to risk the verdict at the polls. In any case their scheme, far from advancing their repeated desire for full Self-Government, would actually be curtailing the powers bestowed upon the people by the new Constitution.

During the next year or two great changes will take place in the Transvaal. We have seen in previous chapters that an ample supply of manual labour may be expected to produce a large increase in mining operations, a greater field for employment, and an expansion of population in the towns, with a corresponding increase in commercial transactions, in the revenue, and in the consumption of commodities.

It is unnecessary to discuss in detail the direct consequences. They are self-evident, and include

wider markets for the products of husbandry, an opening for new industrial enterprises, and a sound foundation for a further influx of Europeans. More white men will be required in every branch, on the mines, in the towns, in the Government service, and on the farms. Manufacturers in England will share in the rising prosperity, and find a growing outlet for their wares. The financial position of the Transvaal will be so strengthened by the increasing revenue that loans will be secured upon fair terms for public works which, besides providing a sphere of employment, will develop the country.

The Imperial exchequer may also benefit, because a substantial contribution which, in the present state of finances, would be unwise, might, under the altered conditions, become feasible. There is, I believe, an earnest desire on the part of most of the British residents in the Transvaal to make some sacrifices as a token of gratitude for, and acknowledgment of, the action of Great Britain. Whether that should take the form of a cash payment, of deferred instalments, or of an indirect advantage, would be of no consequence so long as it ultimately lightened the burden of the British tax-payer. No estimate can be made to-day of the resources at the disposal of the Transvaal Government. Apart from income dependent upon direct and indirect taxation, the colony possesses a great asset in its share of the mineral wealth. What that share is to be, and how it may best be turned to account, remains yet to be determined.

The financial problem is divisible into three distinct parts :—

(*a*) The minimum cost of administration consistent with efficiency.

(*b*) The maximum amount that can be prudently raised.

(*c*) The directions in which the development of the country should be State-aided.

While it is indisputably desirable to devote a portion of the wealth derived from minerals to the advancement of husbandry, or the assistance of permanent industries, it would be sheer waste to extend railways into districts that are not likely to produce commodities to support them, or to give special facilities or inducements for the establishment of manufactories for which the country is not ripe, or the conditions not favourable.

It is, moreover, essential in framing a fiscal policy to do nothing which will tend to strangle mining enterprise or to drive capital away, because no country in the world is probably as dependent upon investors for the development of its latent wealth as the Transvaal. No one will envy the official charged with the preparation of financial proposals. Not only must he be thoroughly versed in the science of economics, but he must be a man of unusual capacity, for he will be subjected to incisive criticism by many highly intelligent and active-minded men in the Legislature.

The choice of a Minister of Finance will probably be more difficult than that of any other member of the Cabinet, but, given good fortune in selection, unsound measures are not likely to pass from any lack of intelligent investigation. The natural ability of the population renders them good critics without necessarily fitting them to-day for positions involving constructive work of a highly technical character.

No principles can be laid down upon which a division of parties is likely to take place in the Legislature when the purely racial line ceases to operate. On some occasions members representing the landed and rural interests will be found in opposition to those standing for mining and urban industries; on others, the land and towns may be found in the same camp, ranged against the mines.

Local jealousy between Pretoria and Johannesburg has sometimes been lamentably acute, and without any well-founded reason. It is to be hoped that Lord Milner's advice upon that subject will be taken to heart, especially in Johannesburg. That town, which is the centre of South African wealth, must necessarily incur the envy of poorer places, and its inhabitants should therefore cultivate a spirit of generosity, not only in their actual dealings with the rest of South Africa, but in the tone they adopt.

The ascendant position of the gold-mining industry imposes upon it special obligations to the Transvaal in particular and to South Africa in general. The capital invested in the mines has a first claim upon their returns, but there are certain considerations which should be impressed upon the holders of mining securities. At first sight it would seem that their interests depend upon the maximum profit being made regardless of the welfare of the country at large. Very little thought, however, is necessary to detect the fallacy in that theory. With working expenses remaining at existing rates, the profits can be determined with tolerable accuracy, and they could only be augmented by the recovery of a higher percentage of gold or by an increased scale of working, but with a progressive decrease in the cost of production, the ratio of profit would rise enormously. A ton of rock yielding a gross return of, say, thirty-seven shillings, at a cost of twenty-two shillings, leaves a profit of fifteen shillings. A fall of, say, two shillings, or nine per cent., in working costs would result in an increased profit of over thirteen per cent.

It is, therefore, of immense importance to lower operating expenses, not only for the benefit of existing concerns, but to bring within the range of payability large bodies of ore too poor in yield to be worked to-day. The chief factor in lowering costs will be

local production of supplies. To reduce railway rates with the object of cheapening imported commodities would be to diminish the revenue, which would presumably have to be made up by taxation in another direction, and, moreover, the extent to which relief could be given in that manner is strictly limited.

It is necessary, therefore, to seek another means of reducing the cost of living. Freights and railway charges offer great protection to the home producer against competition from without the Transvaal, and given a reliable and adequate supply of coloured labour, many industries may be established with success, and husbandry may prosper to a greater extent than existing conditions would appear to indicate. Allied enterprises, for which the soil, directly and indirectly, supplies the raw materials, such as the manufacture of soap, candles, leather belting, boots, etc., etc., would follow as a natural consequence. Present conditions do not favour the erection of factories for commodities whose production would depend mainly upon imported raw materials. A widening demand is all-important as an inducement to the manufacturer, and the mining industry would not suffer by paying even slightly higher prices for Transvaal than for imported produce, because every new industry introduced, and every unit added to the population, expands the market, and must tend to reduce expenses all round.

The same principle applies to the support of local merchants and traders. A nominal saving of five per cent. in direct importation does not illustrate the true position, and although this subject has been ventilated in a previous chapter, it is worth while to repeat the argument. If certain articles are imported by the consumer direct, the local merchant, to meet his fixed charges, will have to raise the price of the goods he keeps in stock, so that the consumer may save in one

direction but lose in another. To sum up, the business of the miner is mining, and that of the trader trading. Given reasonable competition, the former is likely rather to suffer than to gain by invading the sphere of the latter.

In their attitude towards the commercial community, and in their treatment of all questions upon which the people of Johannesburg hold an influential, if not a dominant, position, they will be well advised to shun the parochial view. It would be neither a sound nor a just policy to ask them to subordinate their interests upon chimerical grounds, or for altruistic reasons, but any measure designed to contribute to the development of South Africa should be approached in a friendly and broad-minded spirit. The narrow view that sixpence down is better than a reasonable prospect of half a crown in the future befits those who cannot afford to lose the sixpence, but the gold-mining industry, which stands to gain so much by industrial expansion, can afford to lose sixpence, and would be acting wisely, as well as patriotically, by risking something to further that end, though the successful result may not be a foregone conclusion.

Reckless expenditure in unproductive public works is, of course, to be deprecated; but a judicious and liberal outlay in *experiments* likely to encourage industry in any direction should be incurred, because the utilisation of any resources outside mining will be of permanent benefit to the country as well as to that industry in the long run.

The backwardness of the Transvaal, from the agricultural and pastoral standpoint, must not be taken as the measure of its capabilities. The soil is fertile, the rainfall moderate, and the climate excellent. That the country has been woefully misused and neglected in the past is an argument in favour of applying scientific methods now. It is not uncommon in South

Africa to hear men say: "You cannot teach the Boer anything about farming." If by this is meant that the Boer knows how to provide the barest needs of sustenance with the smallest expenditure of personal labour, it is true; but as a description of the Boer knowledge upon the subject of husbandry it is totally untrue, and amounts to a glorification of ignorance. He never attempted, and during the Kruger *régime* was even taught to regard it as impious, to combat pests and diseases, and for reasons given in an earlier chapter has had neither the incentive nor the ambition to improve his condition upon the land; though he certainly selected, and still occupies, the best patches of alluvial soil.

Since peace was proclaimed, the Agricultural Department has laboured, with results of no small moment. To take only one instance of research, the experiments made with maize (which is the principal cereal grown in South Africa) go to show that a far-reaching improvement can be effected.

The same may be said of the High Veld, where the Boers only kept cattle in the summer season, but where, in the opinion of the Department, it is only necessary to plant trees for shelter, and to conserve and grow a certain amount of winter food for cattle to thrive there the whole year. Tempting markets and the spur of necessity, stimulated by education, will no doubt effect a gradual change, and, so far as one can judge from the reports of experts in the Government service, the soil and climatic conditions are far less to blame for the neglect of the earth's surface than the incapacity, indolence, and apathy of the inhabitants.

To assess the value of the country upon the basis of its productivity under the Boers is dangerous, if not, indeed, demonstrably erroneous. The physical conditions do not forbid success in horse-breeding, in stock and ostrich farming, in tobacco, timber and

wool growing, in poultry raising, or in the profitable production of many of the articles of food. Energetic white men and an adequate supply of black labour are the chief requisites. Mistakes and failures are inevitable, but they will not eventually stifle enterprise; and even the conservative Boer, with his aversion to experiments, once convinced, among other things, that veld burning is ruinous and that lucerne will grow in certain localities, may be awakened out of his lethargy.

It is necessary to recognise that South Africa is not, and probably never can be, a white man's country in the sense that England is. To make it so all coloured men would have to be driven north of the Zambesi, and so long as the manual labour is done by them, so long will white men only act as overseers or skilled artisans. For reasons given in the chapter upon the Labour Problem it is not possible, and it would not be wise if it were possible, to create an inferior class of white men, competing with Kaffirs or Chinamen in the field of mere muscular energy. The successful and peaceful Government of the natives will depend mainly upon their retaining a wholesome respect for their white rulers. To place them in the same category as labourers would be to imperil, if not to destroy, it.

But the elements of difference between the order of labour in South Africa, and in countries where colour plays no part, are not necessarily disadvantageous. They impose a different system, but given that both white and black work satisfactorily in their respective spheres, may ultimately result in a maximum industrial activity. One fact is certain, the country will rise or fall under these conditions, which cannot be altered. Looking into the far future it is conceivable that the Kaffir may become a skilled mechanic. That would naturally alter the complexion of the question entirely;

Racial antagonism, inter-colonial jealousy, and parochialism, or perhaps more properly speaking, provincialism, are the curse of South Africa. The questions of the moment are so interwoven with the life of the people, and are canvassed with such hot intensity, that issues of serious moment are often obscured by comparatively unimportant matters. At one time, for instance, Lord Milner incurred the disapproval of many of the people in Johannesburg because some of his measures, and the work of some of his subordinates, did not accord with their views. His past services, and the sacrifices he had made for the Transvaal, were instantly forgotten, and he was made to feel that he had lost his popularity. He might have departed under the impression that Johannesburg was ungrateful and oblivious of his achievements, but a realisation of the approaching change awakened the people, and brought out their generous instincts. The trifles that caused the temporary estrangement were relegated to their proper place, and Lord Milner could have had no doubt about the warm place he occupies in their hearts when he said "good-bye." The matter would not have been worth recording upon its intrinsic merits, but it is valuable as an illustration of the desperately narrow field of local political reflection.

Intolerance and impatience are the natural products of a restricted horizon. The questions of the hour, great or small, are at the time of superlative consequence, and often blur the true perspective. That circumstance should always be remembered when an agitation arises. Language may be used and a heat generated in controversy quite disproportionate to the issues at stake.

Physically speaking, the difficulties in the path of federation are by no means insurmountable. The chief material questions to be settled before federal union can be contemplated are an actual Customs Union, as

distinguished from the present tariff agreement, and an amalgamation at least of the trunk lines of railway. A Commission, at which all the interested colonies would be represented, might, after a patient and critical investigation, lay down the lines of an acceptable agreement. As a first step it would seem advisable to leave each of the colonies to make the best of their own branch lines. The geographical position of Lourenço Marques is most favourable to that port, and it is questionable, assuming an agreement to have been arrived at between the British colonies, whether it would be advisable to bolster up the through traffic artificially in place of making use of the nearer seaport. The position of the Cape Colony and of Natal is unquestionably hard. Both colonies have spent large sums in improving their ports, and in constructing their through lines of railway. From a patriotic standpoint they are naturally entitled to consideration against the foreign competitor. When sentiment, however, is cast aside, it must be remembered that the liabilities those colonies have incurred were entered into for the advancement of their own interests, and not with the intention of benefitting the Transvaal.

In the absence of any other considerations, the Delagoa Bay route would appear to be the best for Transvaal trade. But there are, in this case, many other very serious considerations to hold in view. Trade has been established for a great many years at the seaports of the British colonies, and many of the firms carrying on business in the Transvaal are either branches of establishments at the coast, or are supported by them. The transference of trade on a very important scale to Lourenço Marques would be detrimental to those firms, and a large portion of the losses inflicted upon South African commerce have, in the end, to be borne by the Transvaal.

The commercial outlook in the Cape Colony at

present is by no means reassuring, and unless an active development of internal resources takes place, or some mineral discoveries are made which give an impetus to trade, the prospects make rather for a decreasing than for an expanding revenue. The same description applies to Natal, though in a lesser degree, because in that colony the possession of coal of good quality, the market for which is extending, is a progressive if not a permanent source of wealth.

Under a federal Administration it would certainly be possible to effect economies, resulting in the Government of the British possession south of the Zambesi for less than is spent in the aggregate by the present Governments. The removal of the danger of bitter conflicts in the future, regarding railway or fiscal matters, would be of immense value, the extent of which cannot possibly be estimated in pounds sterling.

Nature appears to have designed the Transvaal as the centre round which the rest of South Africa should revolve, and it is the people of that country who will exercise enormous influence in promoting or preventing federation. If political unity is to be ultimately accomplished, it will be the result of successive steps and not of a single act. It will come from within, and is likely rather to be retarded than advanced by external pressure. Lord Carnarvon's carefully prepared scheme for federation in 1877 was foredoomed to failure. His emissary, the late Mr J. A. Froude, showed a singular want of tact in the speeches he delivered upon arrival at the Cape, but the result would have been the same no matter whom the Colonial Secretary had entrusted with the mission.

The adoption of a common policy respecting the Government of the natives is another of the essential steps preceding federation. In the Cape Colony there is a consensus of opinion in favour of changing the

present franchise laws. The political parties in the Cape Legislature are nearly equal in strength, and unfortunately the thirst for power is so great that it is questionable whether an agreement between them can be arrived at, even upon this momentous question. Both sides recognise the necessity for action, but the present opposition appears bent upon losing no chance of upsetting the Government. Their followers are probably as anxious as those of the ministerial party to effect a change, but their leaders are able to command extraordinary obedience, and it is from them that danger is to be apprehended. The acceptance by the Cape Colony of the recommendations made by the South African Native Affairs Commission would be another paving stone upon the road to federation.

Apart from the material questions that help to maintain the artificial, and almost imaginary, boundary lines that divide the various Administrations of South Africa, there are others in the region of sentiment of a delicate nature, for the settlement of which breadth of vision and forbearance are needed. The selection, for instance, of the Federal capital is one. In this connection it must be admitted that Cape Town has very strong claims. It is the oldest town in South Africa, lodged in superb surroundings, has interesting historical traditions, a beautiful climate, and many advanced and permanent institutions. It is, however, a thousand miles from the chief industrial centre, and much objection to its selection would be raised upon that account.

It is unnecessary to point out all the difficulties that will have to be overcome before federation can be accomplished, as each step in that direction will bring them to light, but common action in regard to any branch of the public service is to be welcomed as a stride towards the ultimate goal. In the first instance possibly a commercial and political union may be

arranged between Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony. Race feeling in the Cape Colony is unfortunately very strong, and offers a barrier no less to the progress and prosperity of that colony than to closer association with its neighbours.

Antagonism in the past between British and Dutch ideals has been a formidable obstacle to measures which might otherwise have been passed for the common good. The ascendant commercial position of the Transvaal constitutes a power which, if wisely directed, will materially contribute to the destruction of race prejudice, and which can offer other substantial advantages for closer union. The opulence of the Transvaal, however, is not unaccompanied by dangers, against which its inhabitants will have to guard. The less well-favoured neighbours are sensitive, and would naturally resent a dictatorial demeanour. A spirit of arrogance, the growth of which is always to be apprehended in a wealthy community, must be kept in check. The poor relation always looks at favours with suspicion, and the cultivation of friendship will depend upon much self-suppression and consideration for the susceptibilities of others on the part of the men responsible for the administration of the Transvaal in their negotiations with the other colonies.

The Inter-Colonial Council is a body which may serve, when the time comes, to unify the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, and meanwhile it may bring about the incorporation of some of the main lines of railways in the other colonies with those now under its charge. It is upon this ground most important not to abolish it hastily, or for the inadequate reason that it exercises functions outside the Transvaal Legislature, which must, through the appointment of members, gradually exercise a greater influence upon its deliberations. The evil effect of interference by party politicians in railway construction and administration is unfortun-

ately demonstrated only too clearly in a recent report upon the Civil Service of the Cape Colony.

Trade interests are likely to cause much ill feeling between the Transvaal and Orange River Colony on the one hand, and the Cape Colony and Natal on the other. A Conference recently held for an alteration of rates proved abortive, because the demands made by the delegates from the Cape Colony and Natal would have been too costly to the Transvaal, and were in conflict with the *modus vivendi* arranged with the Portuguese. The passing of the Labour Importation Ordinance has certainly rendered the Transvaal less dependent upon Portuguese good-will than it was in days gone by, but there is a natural disinclination to do anything which might disturb the very friendly relations with that country. It has been suggested that the Portuguese should declare Lourenço Marques a free port. The loss of revenue involved would appear to be fatal to such a project. No reliable calculation of the profits to be derived from the increase of traffic receipts could be made, rendering it unlikely, therefore, that so serious a plunge in the dark would be ventured. Moreover, the British Coast Colonies would not be likely to submit without a struggle. In the presence of all these speculative factors, the Portuguese will probably hesitate before putting to the test the effect of abolishing dues and duties; but, assuming that they decided upon such a move, it is questionable whether any measures could be devised by the statesmen of the Transvaal, consistent with their duty to the people, to protect the Cape Colony and Natal. Those colonies would, it seems probable, have to take care of themselves.

Apart from these considerations it would be a most difficult matter by any arrangement of railway charges to deal out even-handed justice to the Cape Colony and Natal at the same time on account of their geo-

graphical position. The political situation also renders the framing and acceptation of an agreement equitable to all the interests involved one of great difficulty, and argues more eloquently than anything else for a supreme effort to arrive at some basis for pooling and dividing the receipts from railways and customs throughout British South Africa, as part of the general scheme in the direction of political union. Apart altogether from the Portuguese position or policy, nothing but harm can result from a railway tariff or fiscal struggle between the various British colonies, the evil effects of which are too evident to require description.

Holding in view the variety and complexity of the questions that must be settled before a federal Government becomes established, the prospect is not encouraging, but historical precedents, where greater obstacles have been overcome in other countries, justify the hope that federation may not be so distant as would appear from present indications. This is the ideal which Englishmen and Dutchmen alike must pursue if the great and united South African nation under the British Flag is to become a reality. By the light of so great an aim the political differences of to-day lose much of their force, and the material circumstances that stand in the way of commercial union become less formidable. By the cultivation of far-reaching aspirations, smaller obstacles upon the road are more easily removed, and inversely, by concentrating attention upon the lesser difficulties, they grow in magnitude.

Real patriotism in South Africa spells a ceaseless effort and an untiring patience devoted to the cultivation of internal union. Every inter-colonial agreement is a stride towards federation, and the contribution of even a single brick to the structure, which will take infinite labour and an indefinite time to build

substantially, should be the aim of every loyal citizen. The difficulty of the task is an incentive to every true patriot, Englishman or Dutchman, to persevere in attacking it.

Some of those who assist in this great work will have in the deep recesses of their mind a still higher ideal, embracing the actual federation of all the countries over which waves the British flag. As Lord Milner said in his farewell speech at Johannesburg: "British and Dutch alike could, without loss of dignity, without sacrifice of their several traditions, unite in a loyal devotion to an Empire State, of which both Great Britain and South Africa would be partners, and work cordially for the good of South Africa as a member of that greater whole. And so you see the true Imperialist is also the best South African." In uttering those words he may well have had in mind the late Cecil John Rhodes, whose life-work consisted in spreading the Imperial idea, and in giving it a practical shape in South Africa. There could be no greater stimulant to exertions on behalf of South African union than the inspiring ambition to help in consolidating and organising the British possessions. Succeeding generations may yet take pride in, and reap the benefit of, a vast Empire, independent of the rest of the world for its supplies, and well organised strategically to resist attack. Object lessons abound as to the surprising rapidity with which countries advance under favourable conditions. Neither in Stuart nor in Georgian days would the present position of the United States, either as to wealth and population or rank among the nations of the earth, have been regarded as anything but a fantastic dream. How far Imperial federation can be effected belongs to the secrets of the future, and no speculations upon the subject are of value, more particularly as they carry us immediately into the labyrinths of hypothesis. But the true patriot, in

whom vitality and courage are dominant attributes, refuses to regard any national aspiration as beyond the range of attainment. "It takes the ideal to blow an inch inside the dust of the actual," and certainly the dream of Imperial unity is "one of the noblest conceptions which has ever dawned on the political imagination of mankind."

# APPENDIX A

## MEMORANDUM *RE* WHITE UNSKILLED LABOURERS IN THE VILLAGE MAIN REEF MINE

THE question of the employment of white unskilled labour on the mines of the Witwatersrand has been prominently before the public during the last two years, and as an experiment to prove the possibility of successfully accomplishing this was begun on this mine by the late manager, and was in operation when I took over the management, I would like to place before you my views and experience on this much debated question.

I found the number of unskilled whites employed underground amounted to 126, who were chiefly working as helpers on machine drills at a daily wage of 8s. 6d. on stoping and 10s. on development. I made no alteration of this method of working during the first month I was here, but when I found at the end of the month that the wages earned by the skilled miner at contract prices fixed by the previous management averaged only 15s. 2d. per shift as against the usual day's rate of 20s. per shift, I felt that a change was imperative, and that the system of paying the unskilled helpers in many cases more than the skilled man in charge was resulting in the best of the skilled miners leaving for work elsewhere.

I considered it necessary to assist the skilled contractors by making up their earnings to approximately a day's pay.

It was soon apparent that there was considerable antipathy on the part of the skilled white miners to the class of men appointed to assist them on machines, and it was not infrequently the case that the skilled miner would have many changes in his helpers during one month, which greatly hindered good work being done.

Perhaps the one reason of the constant change of helpers was

that they were made to feel that they were degrading themselves by doing work which was usually performed by Kaffirs.

It was obvious that the work done by these unskilled whites on machines was unsatisfactory and uneconomical, and I therefore decided to change the system.

Natives were substituted for white helpers on the machines, very much to the satisfaction of the skilled men in charge, and this change had the effect of causing more capable and experienced miners to seek employment on the mine, as they knew that they would then have the opportunity of making the wages customary on these fields.

The white helpers released from machines and other unskilled labourers seeking work were then employed on contract work, shovelling and tramming rock, which work had also been done previously by natives. In this class of labour the unskilled whites were absolutely dependent upon their own individual efforts as to the amount of money they could earn, and a few who overcame their prejudice and made an honest attempt to work, made as much as 15s. per day, but the majority showed an indifference which could only be accounted for by the fact that they did not care whether they worked or not, or, as I often found, they considered that the nature of the employment was only fit for, and ought to be done by, the native races of the country. The possibility of earning 15s. per day, or even more, by close application to work was not sufficient inducement to overcome the reluctance of the labourers to do Kaffir's work, and even when work was accepted the men worked intermittently, and they were unreliable. It was no uncommon occurrence for men to throw up their employment and be engaged again several times during one month.

I find that from January to September (inclusive) last year the average number of unskilled whites employed underground was 102, but to maintain this number 947 men were engaged who worked on the average only twenty-five days. Such constant changes and the failure of the labourers to work steadily day by day could only result in the disorganisation of the underground operations and a material increase to the cost of carrying on the work.

But assuming that a superior class of men could be obtained to work for such a rate of pay, the cost of substituting white for native labour would be equal to half the profit earned for the month. It is generally considered that two white men can do

the work of three natives, and it is calculated that 2,600 natives are necessary to work this mine to the best advantage.

On this basis, but allowing for a complement of 1,000 natives which have been available and employed during the year, and for working the mine on the system as now in vogue the results would show as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| 1,000 natives @ 2s. 9d. per shift (26 working days per month) . . . . . | £3,575 |
| 1,066 white men (say ⅔ of the remaining complement) @ 10s. per day, 26 days per month . . . . . | 13,858 |
| | £17,433 |
| 2,600 natives @ 2s. 9d. . . . . | 9,295 |
| Extra cost per month . . . . . | £8,138 |

After an experience of years on these fields I am of the firm opinion that white men will not be found to perform regularly and satisfactorily work which the customs of South Africa have always considered ought to be done by the coloured races. In this country we know how important and necessary it is that the natives should preserve their respect for the white population, and any proposal which would have a tendency to weaken the superiority and influence of the white races in the eyes of the natives ought not to be encouraged.

# APPENDIX B

## THE BOER CONGRESS AT PRETORIA

### EXTRACTS FROM PROCEEDINGS

*From "The Star," 28th May 1904.*

GENERAL BOTHA, in opening the Congress, said: Gentlemen, it is my pleasant privilege to open this Congress and to bid a hearty welcome to each delegate. Nothing has been a source of greater pleasure to me than the willingness and hearty co-operation evidenced by you, after I decided to assemble a Congress. Allow me now to give you an explanation of the object and labours of the Congress, which may more or less serve as a guide for the future proceedings of this meeting. . . .

*The Indigent.*—We have in this country thousands of indigent persons who before the war were employed in the police, artillery, or Civil Service, as well as many of the "bywoner" class. The one lived on his salary, the other by his labour on the farm. The war has deprived the one of his employment, and the other of his cottage and cattle, and to-day these people exist in a condition of abject poverty. The merchant gives them no credit, nor can they find the surety required by the Government, and so their condition becomes day by day more deplorable. These people must be assisted, but the question is, how, and by whom? Speaking for myself, I see only one way of settling this matter, and that is that this meeting asks the Government to aid these people by employing a large number of them in the Civil Service and police force, and by distributing amongst the others the draught cattle, which, it is said, are still available. . . .

*The Diamond Law.*—As you know, petitions have been distributed by us. The first of these treats of the new Diamond Law, and clearly explains our wishes. We ask for more rights

as owners, and also that these rights be guaranteed in a manner more to the purpose. . . . The profits demanded by the Government are too large, for while the competition with respect to the diamond industry is so keen, the development of the diamond industry in the Transvaal should not be stifled in its infancy, through which old mines like those of Kimberley would obtain an unlimited privilege. It is unfair, while the diamond mines in the Cape Colony are untaxed, to levy on the newly-opened diamond mines here a tax of 60 per cent. on the profits.

*The Gold Law.*—The second petition has reference to the draft Gold Law. We ask in this petition only that no alteration be made in the existing Gold Law, until the country has received full Responsible Government, and although actuated by the best intentions towards co-operation, I cannot see any reason for the new law being called into existence. . . .

*Compensation.*—There is no matter which is of greater importance to the farmers than compensation. They expect, or rather had expected, to have been paid out immediately after the conclusion of peace, and in nothing have they been more deeply disappointed than in this. It is true that the Government has tried to do much by giving assistance in connection with the repatriation. The intention of the Government was good, their sole object was to assist the people in the most suitable way, but the method of carrying this out was in itself a disappointment to us. The Repatriation Commission was too costly, and the expenditure for administration and transport too great. Millions of money were spent, which millions were not used for the purpose intended, viz., assistance to farmers for repatriation purposes, so that it cannot be said that the farmers have had the benefit of all the millions already spent. . . .

*The Thirty Millions' War Debt.*—When Mr Chamberlain was here an address was handed to him by the last Boer Congress, asking that no war tax be laid upon the country until full Responsible Government had been granted, and though he met us personally, he did not think the request worth while answering. Yet, after conferring with only a section of the inhabitants, he found it reasonable to lay upon our country this enormous debt at a time when the whole country was a mass of ruins and the people suffering dire poverty. This action without the wishes of the inhabitants of the country being consulted, is unjust and in conflict with English traditions since the secession of the

American Colonies, and lays down a principle which I trust our people to a man will disapprove of. We have no objection to the country being burdened with a debt of thirty millions, provided a reasonable compensation out of this amount were paid for losses suffered during the war to all who have actually suffered damages during hostilities. This would assist the people financially, put them on their feet again, and at the same time be the right way to ensure conciliation and unity in the country. Certainly it would be the least costly and most suitable policy which the Government could follow, for in such matters a Government and its subjects should be in perfect accord with each other.

*Education.*—To us this question is one of the most important of all, and I am deeply grieved that no satisfactory solution to it has been arrived at. . . . Spare no sacrifice, I pray you, for your language and education, for undoubtedly the demand that we should co-operate to treat our language as a foreign tongue in the land of our birth is asking too much of us. An Africander who renounces his language is not only the enemy of his countrymen, but also his own. If we learn the English language and the English learn the Dutch language, the prospect of becoming a great nation in Africa is so much the clearer. . . .

*Responsible Government.*—From newspaper and other sources one hears that this Congress has been assembled more with the object of demanding immediate Responsible Government than for any other purpose, and it is with the intention of preventing a mistaken impression from gaining credence among our people that I wish to make the following remarks. Responsible Government was guaranteed to us at the conclusion of peace, and the point of view which we now should take in this matter is that if our Government, as well as the Home Government, think it is to their interest to lay the responsibility for such a large country upon the shoulders of a few persons, instead of upon those of the multitude, then the responsibility is theirs. Speaking for myself, I am not prepared to accept a blind responsibility. The future of such a Government depends upon the constitution, and if this is not based upon broad lines and principles, compatible with our existence, which may serve to render this country again a land of prosperity and blessing, it remains an open question whether we will co-operate or not. . . .

*Organisation.*—There are many matters of the greatest import-

ance to our people, such as: (1) The purchase of our produce by the Government for military and other purposes, so that everything need not be imported; (2) The question of our interests in connection with the railways; (3) The power granted to municipalities by which a municipal body is authorised to levy rates within a radius of six miles from the centre of a city or town; (4) The proposed establishment of Divisional Councils, with power to impose taxation for the maintenance of roads; and a great many more. All these matters tend clearly to prove that the time has arrived for the farmers, in order to prevent their interests from being neglected, to organise in a more effective manner. This could be carried out on the same lines as those of other factions or bodies, such as the Chamber of Mines, the Chamber of Commerce, the Labour Association, etc., at whose suggestion and advice radical changes and innovations have been introduced. To organise for entirely financial, agricultural, and stock-breeding purposes, will undoubtedly conduce to the prosperity and progress of the farmer. I strongly recommend such an organisation, having an Executive Committee in Pretoria, with a committee in each district, or, better, in each ward. The members of the Executive Committee can be elected by this meeting, and the committee could then regulate the entire organisation. The committee should be comprised of a limited number of members, which could subsequently be augmented by the addition of a member from each district.

In conclusion, I trust that this meeting will carry out its labours calmly and temperately, and, being comprised of such a large number of members, I think it a suggestion worthy of recommendation that each member be allowed to speak only once on one subject. Our people have made great sacrifices, have shed their blood and wept tears of bitter sorrow, but they must thoroughly understand that the lowering of their flag and the change of Government do not entail the renunciation of their traditions. Now is the time for us to prove to our new Government that we are and shall remain one people of whom they must become proud. We have one object in view, and that is to live and to work in unison with the new population, and my earnest hope and prayer is that it may please the Almighty to inspire the entire white population in South Africa with feelings of unity so that a nation may be born worthy

to take its place among the nations of the world, where the name of "Africander" shall be heard with honour and applause. . . .

MR SCHALK BURGER said he considered it his duty to address them on the question of the three million loan, because, as one of the leaders of the people who signed the peace of Vereeniging, he wanted to address the Government on this matter. At the Conference it was said they would receive a gift of three millions to bring the people back to their homes, and also to help those who, from circumstances of war, could not help themselves, and that that money was to be placed with local Commissions under the chairmanship of the magistrate or any official nominated by the Government. Now, as far as he knew, none of that money was given out. Everything issued by the Repatriation Department had to be given a receipt for or security. Now, after two years of peace and quietness, he thought they could go to the Government to ask where the three millions had gone to. In fact, they had a right to go to the Government, as one of the contracting parties. Those three millions should be given to the poor. On the other hand, what did they find? They found that, while the Government was demanding the payment of receipts given by the burghers, the Government took no account of the receipts which the burghers themselves held from the Government. They held that the two claims should be dealt with simultaneously—the claims which the burghers had against the Government, as well as the claims the Government had against the burghers. The burghers in many cases walked for days and days to prove their claims, and then got nothing. They should at least be compensated for loss of time. The great question was, was the Government too poor to pay them? He agreed with Mr Wolmarans with reference to the justice of the claims of those burghers to whom money was owing by the late Government. Every sixpence owed by any burgher to the late Government was hunted out and collected by the present Government. The first Government notes of the late Government were issued to the amount of £750,000, the burgher's property being given as security. That money was due to the burghers now, and should be paid on the £ for £ principle. There was no agreement made between the two contracting parties with regard to war losses sustained by burning farms and so forth. A Commission had been appointed at great

expense to enquire into this matter, and he should like to know what the result of that was going to be. . . .

COMMANDANT J. C. SMUTS said that since the war, education had been given to the Boer children which was exclusively English. Dutch was entirely banished from the camp schools over the whole of South Africa. In the days of the camp schools a number of their friends in Pretoria and elsewhere joined hands and collected money and started a free school system, under which Dutch as well as English was taught. After the peace he (the speaker) arrived in Pretoria and found this system in operation and gradually increasing, and so it continued till the Generals had collected money for the widows and orphans, and also for education. After their return this free school system was established on a broader basis, and at present one-third of all the children in the Transvaal were in their schools. The establishment and growth of this system appeared dangerous to the Government, and made it appear to them as if the Boers were working against the Government. Their leaders went to the Government, and for nearly six months negotiations were carried on, the basis of negotiations on the part of the former being equality of the two languages, because although English was the official language, the majority of the people were Dutch. The second principle which they insisted on was that the State should not tell the people what their children should learn, or how they should be educated, but that the care of their children and their education should, under God's providence, be left to the parents. They, therefore, negotiated with the Government on the basis of the equality of the two languages, and that the children should be educated by school committees appointed by the people; in other words, the parents themselves. Those negotiations, as was well known, amounted to nothing. The Government always wanted to appoint members to the school committees. There was always an excuse made, and the thing was practically at a standstill. They wanted equality of the two languages, and the rights of the parents guaranteed—and the Government would not consent. That was the position to-day. It was satisfactory to them to see that the whole nation was taking this question up seriously. If there was one question in which the future of their people was bound up, it was this education question. There was just as much capacity in the Africander people as in any other nation. They had not the

academic education of many of their fellow British subjects, but the same common sense and natural development existed just as much in the Transvaal as in any other country. They could not agree to a system of education which was, as it were, brought by ships from Europe. The national character had grown out of the ground of the Transvaal, and they did not want to adopt an imported system of education. They did not mind paying and suffering in order to hand over to their children the traditions of their forefathers. The Government must acknowledge the justice and reasonableness of their attitude, and in the future acknowledge that they were right in their demands.

GENERAL DE LA REY said they had gone over the world beggars in the matter of the education of their youth, but they did not care what they did as long as they maintained their morals, their religion, and their language. The Government had repeatedly asked them to freely speak out, and they had repeatedly spoken out freely. Although they were now under the British flag, they were an Africander nation still; they had the Dutch or Africander language, and that they wanted to retain. For himself, he would speak out freely. There were, he knew, schools in the country where there was no proper teaching of Dutch, but to which parents were compelled to send their children on account of poverty. His object was—and he had brought it before the Government—to uphold his own language. He had a right to claim education for his children out of State coffers, and he thought the committee which they were to appoint should bring in a full proposal. He spoke in the spirit of the Africander nation. He had himself been frequently sorry that he did not know foreign languages, and he was not against his children knowing them. As they all knew who knew him, in the time of the late Government he had never been against his children learning the English language as well, but, firm as he stood on that point, as firm did he stand for his own language. He wanted to uphold that tender and full responsibility which every parent should hold for his children. That was nothing more than what they should hand over to their children as an inheritance. He also had children at school. How it fared with them he did not know; he never went there. He had at great expense to send his children to the (Cape?) Colony. It was time now for them to ask for what was rightly due to

them, and he hoped the Government would be reasonable and grant their demands. That was his principle, and the principle they would work upon. . . .

### Deputation to Lieutenant-Governor

*Wednesday.*—The Boer Congress delegates met the Lieutenant-Governor at a quarter to eleven.

*General Botha's Speech.*—General Botha, in formally introducing the deputation, said it had been repeatedly stated that the farmers and the Boers of the country were sitting sulking on their farms, and would not take any part in the Administration or Government of the country. He thought that that representative meeting, representing, as it did, the whole country, and having delegates from every district, would remove that accusation. Their desire and wish was not to place any obstacles in the way of the Government, but, on the contrary, to show that they wished to co-operate with the Government for the benefit of the whole country. The composition of that gathering would show that the unfortunate split which occurred during the war, as far as the Boer population was concerned, had also been bridged over, and that there was a desire for co-operation amongst all sections. Their earnest desire was that the inhabitants of the Transvaal would coalesce for the purpose of forming a strong element to work in the interests of the whole country. Many subjects had been discussed at the Congress, and on those subjects many resolutions had been taken. It was perfectly understood that to-day all those subjects could not be fully entered into, nor could any definite reply be given on those particular subjects. It had, however, been decided to appoint a committee, which would from time to time communicate to the Government what had been resolved, and what were the desires of the meeting, which the committee represented, and from whom the Government could obtain the information which was necessary. He wished to take that opportunity of expressing the opinion that the present Government had to-day a magnificent opportunity of effectually establishing that co-operation between the white inhabitants, not only of the Transvaal, but the whole of South Africa, which was so earnestly desired. The various matters which had been discussed were as follows:—The thirty

millions' war debt, the importation of wheat and other articles from foreign countries, the poor widows and orphans, the education question, the arming of districts where there were large Kaffir populations, memorials with reference to the Diamond and Gold Laws, the question of cattle diseases and the regulations, compensation, the importation of Chinese, the Swaziland question, the scab regulations and the labour question. He desired to say that he could hardly express in words the good impression and effect which His Excellency's letter, in which he asked them to meet him, had created in the minds of the Congress. They would be only too pleased to listen with the greatest attention to whatever His Excellency wished to communicate to them.

SIR A. LAWLEY said: I should like, if I may, on the part of my colleagues and myself, to offer to all of you a very cordial welcome here this morning. I can assure you, gentlemen, that I am not one those who are under the impression that the Boer farmer is sulking. I believe that I realise almost as fully as any one present to-day what are the difficulties with which you have had to contend during the past two years. It may be that I have not been able to show you as much practical sympathy as I could wish, but, nevertheless, I hope you will believe me when I assure you that, to the best of my ability, I have endeavoured to assist you to return to the condition of prosperity which once you knew. Unfortunately, my duties have been of such a nature that it has been impossible for me to visit the remoter parts of this country as often as I could have wished, but whenever I have had the opportunity of doing so, I have visited as many of the farmers of this country as I could, and I should like to take this opportunity of telling you how much I appreciate, and how heartily I value the extraordinary courtesy and kindness with which I have invariably been received. I value it particularly because I believe that the spirit which has been evinced by the individual members of the Boer community is only an indication of the spirit which animates you as a whole. I intend, so far as I can, to show you that I reciprocate that spirit. I know that it must often be difficult for you, after the events of the past few years, to treat me as you have done, and, therefore, I am the more grateful to you for the spirit which you have shown.

*The Government's Motives.*—Now, gentlemen, we as a Govern-

ment are engaged in building up this country, and it was inevitable that in that work we must introduce methods with which you are unfamiliar, and systems of which hitherto you would have no knowledge, and, therefore, sometimes the measures which we introduce must seem to you strange and unsuitable, but I hope you will believe, and that some day you will realise, that the motives which have actuated us in our policy are honest and good. I don't think that it can be said, either of myself or my colleagues, that we have ever proved inaccessible to any section of the community. It has always been my wish to make myself acquainted, as far as I could, with not only the needs, but with the aspirations and desires of the men of this country. Over and over again I have endeavoured, before taking a step, to ascertain how far it might be in conformity with the wishes of the people of the country. There are many gentlemen here to-day, who, I think, can tell you that we have had many and many a discussion on topics of interest to this country. I think they will tell you that our discussions have always been of a friendly nature, even though they were often on matters very delicate and difficult to deal with; and though we have not always, I am sorry to say, been able to agree, yet, I think, we have invariably parted without any loss of esteem or respect on either side. Therefore, when it became known to me that a large and representative body of Boers were to meet in Pretoria to discuss matters of public interest, I asked General Louis Botha if you would be good enough to meet me before you dispersed. I thank you for accepting my invitation, because I believe it is much better that we should meet face to face and talk straight to one another upon matters of grave public concern. I believe that is better than any system of correspondence, and better even than a system of interviews by deputy, because we get to know one another, and we get, I hope, to understand one another—and I sincerely hope that this meeting will not disperse until we have been able to remove some of the misunderstandings which, I am afraid, at present exist.

*Removal of Misunderstandings.*—I can only assure you that I am most ready and anxious to hear all you have got to say, and, although, if I may judge by the list which has just been read out, I am afraid it will be impossible for us to discuss fully all the questions on the paper, yet I hope, as I said just

now, that I shall be able to go so far into them that the result of our meeting will not prove to have been in vain. Gentlemen, we have got to live together in this country, and I believe every one of us is imbued with one idea, and that is to make it a great country. It is inevitable that in reaching that point some of us may wish to go upon different roads, but if we once grasp this fact, that Government and governed are imbued with this same desire and determination, we shall be able, I am certain, to get over the misunderstandings and want of sympathy which may exist to-day. Nothing, I think, can do it more effectually than a meeting such as this. I will only ask you to speak what is in your hearts, straight to me. I will deal equally frankly with you—and I will ask you for the future not to hesitate, but to go to the Government when you have any complaints to make. As I said just now, our methods are, many of them, new to you. We have a vast Civil Service, and it is impossible that every official in the Government service should be as efficient as we could wish, but I will ask you, when you suffer from the action of any official from some error or some stupidity on their part, not to sit upon it and boil it up into a great grievance, but come straight to us, and see if we cannot remedy the grievance. And, if I may also say one thing more, please do not regard the utterances of the Press as invariably the utterances of the Government. . . . I do not propose to say anything more just now. I will ask you, therefore, if you will be so kind as to let me have the resolutions, to which I will then reply as fully as the time will allow. . . .

### Lieutenant-Governor's Reply

After luncheon Sir A. Lawley replied to the points raised by the deputation.

He said: I understand that it is not your expectation that every point raised this morning should be definitely replied to this afternoon, but, nevertheless, I propose to deal as fully as I can with the various points raised, because I may not have the opportunity of meeting you again for some time. I propose to deal with the points raised in the order in which they were brought forward, except that I shall ask the Attorney-General to deal with matters concerning the Gold and Diamond Laws,

inasmuch as he is more thoroughly conversant with them than I am.

*The War Debt.*—The first point raised is in regard to the war debt of thirty millions. I would remind you that His Majesty's Government have already shown that they do not intend to force this thing upon the country at a time when they consider it can ill afford to bear it. Before such a step can be taken it must be considered by the Legislative Council. At the present moment there is no question of such taking place. The Legislative Council will meet for the transaction of business next month, and this does not appear among the measures to be submitted to that House. I think, therefore, that any discussion upon this question at the present moment can only be premature.

*Alterations of Districts.*—The second point raised is the question of restoring to certain districts the status of a full magistracy. Now, this matter has on several occasions been brought forward by the towns directly concerned, and I will only say to you what I said to them. When this matter was first brought before me, I ascertained that there were certain disabilities from which these towns suffered, in consequence of not having a full-fledged magistrate to control them in certain matters such as the payment of revenue and other kindred subjects. These towns did, I confess, at first suffer from some disabilities, but I hope and believe that those disabilities have been removed, and that there is no inconvenience at the present time put upon a district by the fact that it is merged in another district, and under the jurisdiction of another magistrate. We really come to this, that the objection to the present system is more sentimental than otherwise. The establishment of magistrates in these towns would mean an increased cost of administration, and at a time when we are being pressed on all sides to reduce the cost of our administration, and to reduce the number of our highly paid officials, it hardly seems right that we should take this step. It is not as though we regard the present position as permanent. It is perfectly obvious to all of us that we shall in a reasonable time be called upon to divide the country into electoral districts. We have, as you know, just taken a census, and, as I said, the present division of the various districts can only be regarded as temporary. Seeing then that there are no practical serious disabilities, under which

these various districts suffer, I would ask you not to press for a re-adjustment at this time, which would only upset the machinery at present in fair working order, merely for a matter of what I believe to be sentiment. If there are any matters which are really disabilities, which can be removed, we shall be very glad to do so.

*Government Purchases.*—The third point which arises is with regard to the importation of goods from abroad. I notice that your resolution says that the farming and mercantile communities especially suffer under this, but I cannot help thinking there is some misapprehension as to the true position. It is quite true that, in accordance with the traditional policy of the Colonial Office, the Government is requested to make its purchases as far as possible through the Crown Agents in London, but these instructions do not apply to stuffs and produce grown in South Africa. You remember that since the war ceased until now the products of this country have been by no means up to the average. Now, the main consumers, so far as the Government is concerned, are the railway, and it was necessary for them last year to import a certain amount of mealies and grain. Now that, after a fairly good harvest, these things are produced within the country the policy of the railways has changed. I should like to call your attention to the wording of a notice, calling for tenders for the railway from 1st July, from which it will be apparent that the interests of the farming community have not been lost sight of. The tender calls for mealies and provender; and it is particularly this sentence I would draw your attention to:—"In order to afford farmers' associations and kindred bodies an opportunity of disposing of their produce, and to assist produce dealers and farmers to tender, the Administration is prepared to consider tenders for the delivery, at any convenient railway station in South Africa, of the whole or any portion of the requirements, such delivery to be spread over the whole or part of the period." The same policy which has been adopted by the Railway Department, will be adopted by every other Government Department in regard to the purchase of produce in this country. More than this, I may say that, although the civil Government of this country has no control whatever over the military, at the time when the military authorities were calling for tenders for grain and forage, I wrote to the

Commander-in-Chief, Sir Neville Lyttelton, and I asked him, if possible, to ensure that those orders were given within the Transvaal, and he gave me the assurance that this course would be adopted. So I hope you will realise that though for a time it may be necessary for some of our Government Departments to import this material from abroad, now that the country is more restored to its normal condition, and is able to supply our wants, we shall look to you to do so.

*Compensation.*—The next point I wish to touch on is the matter of compensation, with which I propose to deal at some length. I may say at once that of all the many difficult problems with which I have been called upon to deal since I came here I regard this as by far the most difficult. I propose to deal with this at some length, and I hope I shall make the position clearer than I think it is at present. I cannot undertake to deal with the question of compensation by itself. The question of compensation can only be considered in conjunction with the question of repatriation. Now, there is one point which was raised this morning by Mr Beyers which is quite new to me, and which I must frankly say I cannot accept. I understood him to say—and he will correct me, I am sure, if I am wrong—that the terms which were signed at Vereeniging were to apply to certain sections of the people.

MR BEYERS: Yes, that is so.

HIS EXCELLENCY: That is so. Well frankly, gentlemen, I cannot accept the proposal. In the minutes of the conferences which took place at the time it is generally laid down and accepted by both sides that the terms, as they were signed, were to be taken literally, and that no fresh conditions were to be introduced. Now, in those terms it is clearly stated that the signatures were made on behalf of the respective burghers of the two Colonies, those of the Transvaal and of the Orange Free State, as it was then, and it is impossible to read into those terms now the interpretation that these were signed on behalf of any particular section. That is, in my opinion, so clear that I cannot accept any other interpretation. Now, there is another point, I don't wish to labour it, but I think it should not be lost sight of, the point that the word "compensation" does not occur in the whole of these terms. I do not in the least want to quibble about words. I think, though, that we should bear these two points in mind when we are

dealing with this most difficult question. Now, I propose to deal with this question. First, broadly to tell you what we have done as regards the people at large, and then to point out to you the position of the individual burgher. Now, under the terms of surrender, His Majesty's Government undertook an obligation to devote the sum of three million pounds sterling for the purpose of assisting the restoration of the people to their homes, and supplying those who were unable to supply themselves with food, shelter, and the necessary amount of seed, stock, machinery, and implements, indispensable for the resumption of their normal occupations. They further undertook to assist the people by loans on easy terms. Now, it would be incompetent for the Government to have included all of the inhabitants of the two Colonies, and, further, to have included the costs of administration. As a matter of fact, His Majesty's Government did neither. Not a penny of the three millions has gone in the cost of administration. The whole—and, as I shall show you shortly, a great deal more—has gone in restoring the ravages of the war. Now I will try and put clearly before you the various funds which have been placed at our disposal. There is, first of all, the free grant of three millions of Imperial funds under the terms of the surrender. There is a further grant from the Imperial authorities of two millions for compensation to British subjects, foreign subjects, and natives. There is also a sum of five millions from the Guaranteed Loan to be devoted to repatriation. Then there are two other funds, which I propose to treat as one. The first of these is the sum of two millions sterling, given to us by the War Office to pay out to certain burghers, with whom the military authorities had entered into a special agreement, and who are entitled to a more liberal scale of compensation than the rest of the burghers, and finally a sum of two and a half millions, which was placed in our hands to pay the military receipts, which were given by the military during the war, so that altogether a sum of fourteen and a half millions has been devoted to the restoration of this country, and for its recovery from the ravages of war. Or rather, I would exclude the last two sums I have mentioned, and I would rather put on one side the "protected burghers" and military receipts, and I would exclude them from the category, and would say that, broadly speaking, a sum of ten

millions has been devoted to the restoration of this country, and that is the more accurate way of putting it. Practically the whole of this sum has been expended. It seems, I know, an enormous sum, but you must consider what the condition of this country was two years ago, and what has been done since. You must also remember that owing to the fact of the exceptionally bad harvests last year, we were obliged to feed, for a period of a year and a half, instead of for six months, a very large number of people. Now, I know that it is very often said that money has been wasted, and that the administration of these funds has been badly carried out. Well, so far, I have not had the privilege of seeing a full report of how that money has been expended, therefore, it is impossible for me to judge whether these criticisms are just or not, but broadly, the position is this, that having undertaken to spend three millions in restoring this country, we have already spent ten. It is quite true that much of this is recoverable, but I do hope you will believe, gentlemen, that the Government has endeavoured to fulfil its obligations. Though I quite believe it possible that in some instances mistakes have been made in the administration of the money, you must remember that the organisation had to be equipped and prepared most hurriedly, and it is impossible that in an organisation of such magnitude a certain amount of extravagance and unnecessary expenditure should not take place. But I hope that you will believe that we have not failed to realise the serious position the people of this country were placed in, and that we have made strenuous efforts to enable them to recover from that position. Now I would like to deal more particularly with the case of the individual burgher, who comes as a claimant for compensation under the terms of surrender. It has been suggested, I notice, instead of the elaborate machinery we set up, it would have been far simpler and better that cash payments should have at once been made out, but, even had that been possible, I do not believe it would have been satisfactory. Let us consider for a moment the number of claimants for compensation. I am not going now to include British subjects or foreigners, or natives, or the class known as "protected burghers." I am going to deal simply with the case of those whom we call "ex-burghers." Now at present, of these ex-burgher claims, the number amounts

to close on 40,000, and in addition to those who have actually claimed for compensation, there are quite half as many more who have been assisted by repatriation, although they are not claimants for compensation, so that in round figures you must see that the number which we were called upon to deal with was at least 60,000, and many of these are individuals representing families. Now, suppose it had been physically possible to divide this amount of three millions immediately among them, it is a very easy sum to work out how much each would get. You will find that each of them would have received £50. Now, I ask you, would it have been humanly possible for those people, if they had received at the close of hostilities a sum of £50, to have been in the position which they are in to-day, even if it had been possible to make such a division then? We were face to face with a vast number of men in a state of positive destitution. It was impossible for us to withhold relief from these people while we were determining the exact proportion of the three millions to which each man was entitled. We therefore issued the various materials necessary to carry out the conditions in the terms of surrender, and in the first instance everything was issued on credit. Now, some exception has been taken to this action on our part. A debtor's account was kept against every man. If this money was to be administered on anything like business lines, such a course was absolutely necessary because, while some have already received more than their share of the three millions in kind, others have received less, and there is still a large amount to be paid out to these in cash. Now you must see that unless an accurate account had been kept against each man, it would have been impossible for us to adjust these accounts fairly, and know to whom these further amounts in cash were payable. I know there is great complaint about the long delay in these cash payments, but I will ask you to remember a few points. In the first place, I would ask you to realise that the total number of claims under the various headings amounts to close upon 60,000. I know that exception has been taken to the course which we followed in appointing one commission to deal with the whole of the cases, but you must remember that every one of these claims had to be gone through and classified. A great many of the claims submitted were from British subjects. They had to be ruled out in that class and

put into the class of either protected or ex-burghers. Similarly many of the protected burghers had to be ruled out of that class, and put among the ex-burghers. There was an immense amount of overlapping, and these had to be sorted out by one body, and when it came to be considered in what way we should deal with these claims, we took the smallest class first, so as to get them out of the way. Now I am glad to say that the protected burghers have been largely paid out, and I hope within a week or two the whole of them will be dealt with, and the same with regard to British subjects, and then we shall turn our undisturbed attention in the endeavour to get the ex-burgher class out of the way as soon as possible. I assure you, gentlemen, that if I could settle every claim at this moment I would most gladly do so, but not only have these claims been of enormous number, but many of them were in every kind of language, many of them relied on evidence which was extremely difficult to obtain. In many cases, I am sorry to say, they were of a fraudulent nature. But I do intend to use the whip and spur in this matter, and bring about the final settlement of these claims as soon as possible. I should like just to clear up one point. I know an exception has been taken to a circular which was recently issued, asking those who were in a position to repay some of the amount due to the Government, to do so. This circular was issued because we were under the belief that a considerable number of those who had obtained temporary assistance from us were in a position to repay the debt. You will have noticed perhaps the circular was rather of the nature of an invitation than a demand, and our anticipations have not proved altogether wrong. A good many have come forward, and so far as I know, without any inconvenience to themselves have paid off a considerable amount of their debts to the Government. You can understand that, with these large sums which we have paid out, we are naturally anxious at the earliest possible moment to get some return, but it is not part of our policy to set a man on his legs, and then just as he is beginning to stand upright, to knock him down again into the mud. I should like if I might, to refer for a moment to the questions raised by Mr Beyers, which refer to protected burghers and military receipts. We, as a Government, are merely agents of His Majesty's Government in respect of these matters. The military authorities

issued certain receipts during the war for goods received and they gave us an amount which they reckoned would be more than enough to pay off these receipts. As a matter of fact the amount which they gave us has already been considerably exceeded, and there are still payments to be made. At the same time there were certain conditions attached to the payment of these receipts, for which we are not responsible, but with regard to which we are bound to take the ruling of the War Office. Now, it was ruled by the military authorities that where a man had got receipts and then went on commando those receipts would not be recognised. There were also cases where some not very wise officers had signed receipts for goods at extravagant and ridiculous prices. Therefore the military laid down certain prices as the amount for which they would be responsible. We, the Government of this country cannot vary these regulations of the War Office if we wished. Similarly with regard to protected burghers, we received a sum from the military authorities to perform their obligations in respect of these people. We can therefore only make the money go as far as it will, taking care that, so far as lies in our power, the allocation of it shall be perfectly just, as between man and man.

At this stage, by desire of His Excellency, Mr Esselen explained to the members of the Congress that the only reason the Government undertook the work was as agents in the interests of the people. There were also a few other points which had been mentioned to him just before they went to luncheon, but he had not time to touch upon them. He would, however, look into them and give them his careful consideration.

*The Cattle Disease.* — Then, gentlemen, proceeded His Excellency, there is the question of the cattle disease, and I may say at once that in the opinion of the Government this is the most serious and the gravest matter with which we have had to deal so far. We are told that the Government know nothing about this disease, but I am sorry to say that we know a great deal too much. This disease, gentlemen, which has only been in this country for the last two years, is, we have satisfied ourselves, by scientific experiments, a new and very deadly disease, and we are face to face with the possibility that unless we can arrest this disease in some way, the outlook is extremely grave.

Science has taught us that the parasite which leaves this deadly sickness is communicated by a certain kind of tick. If you had time to go through our laboratories I am certain that we could convince you of the fact. We could show you the life of the parasite in all its stages, and we could show you its effect in regard to the animals, once the parasite has been communicated to it, and even if science did not show us all this, we have learned, by practical experience, that once ground becomes infected with this disease it is not clean again for at least a year after, and unless some measures are taken, it is only reasonable to anticipate that the disease must spread. Unfortunately, though science shows us the cause, it has not yet shown us the cure. When this mortality first began amongst the cattle, we combined with the other Governments of South Africa in securing the man whom we believed most capable of diagnosing the disease, and most likely to suggest a cure. That experiment cost each Government some thousands of pounds, and, I am sorry to say, it has so far not resulted in any satisfactory cure being found. We then made up our minds, guided by the advice of scientists, that the most successful and sure way of arresting the disease was to get the farms of the country fenced in, in order to allow of the proper segregation of stock. Now, had that been possible, it would mean that we might have done much by now to stamp out this disease. Last year, you will remember, we introduced Legislation dealing with the fencing of the country. In the first instance, in consequence of the grave menace before us in the shape of this disease, we proposed to make fencing compulsory, though, at the same time, we introduced a clause, whereby the Government was called upon to supply the necessary fencing. I know that it would have cost a great deal of money, but I believe that if the Ordinance had been carried in its original form, we might have saved an enormous amount of money to the farmers of this country, but, in deference to the representations made on behalf of the farming community, we decided that the Ordinance should only be permissive. Well, after our first two proposals, the engagement of Dr Koch and compulsory fencing, the question of regulations was considered. I know that these regulations were stringent, and that they imposed a great deal of inconvenience, but I am perfectly certain of this, that if we had not had those regulations, and if they had not been in the main carried out, the disease would have been infinitely worse to-day than it is. It is

my firm belief that if we were to-day to withdraw those regulations throughout the country, it would mean the extermination of the whole of the cattle in the Transvaal. Well, among your people, it is suggested that a committee should be appointed to help us to deal with this disease. I may say that long ago we appointed advisory committees in most districts in the Transvaal in which disease was rife. We have committees now in no less than sixteen different districts, who are, and have been, most energetic and helpful to the Government, and we don't propose to depart from the principle that we have adopted, and we shall gladly welcome your help in devising some means for the eradication of the disease. Now, gentlemen, I hope that you will not undervalue the help which science can give us in this case. Science has shown us how to defy the ravages of rinderpest. It has taught us to deal effectively with plague, with smallpox, and a thousand other diseases, and I will only beg of you not to ignore the value of science in dealing with a problem such as this. Let us deal with this in a practical way. Let us as a Government get the scientists to lay down what measures are necessary to eradicate the disease, and do you on your part come forward and meet our scientists to discuss with them what are the best measures, and how those measures are to be carried into practical effect. What I want most earnestly to impress upon you to-day is this, that you are face to face with a very grave danger. We realise it, and we mean to do our part. I will only ask you to help us. We have to face a great expenditure of money, and this money will be wasted unless we have power to make the measures, which may be decided upon, compulsory. Remember that one or two obstinate men, unless we have power to overcome their ignorance and prejudice, may keep this disease alive in this country for years. What those necessary powers may be I am not in a position to say just now, but, if the committee which you propose will be so good as to enter into negotiations with the Commissioner of Lands, I will promise you that he who represents the Government in this matter will meet you, and will discuss fully all details of any proposed measures with you, because, believe me, we are just as anxious as you are to banish this curse from the country.

*Protective Arms.*—The sixth point is in regard to arming individuals in districts where large Kaffir populations exist. I must say that until this was brought forward I was not aware that

there was any cause for complaint. I remember that under the sixth clause of the Terms of Surrender, possession of rifles was allowed to every person requiring them for protection. I was under the impression that where individuals had come forward and shown rifles were necessary, in such cases rifles had been allowed. I do not presume that it is suggested that the whole population should be armed, because, so far as I am aware, there is no civil population in any country generally armed with military rifles. It is certainly not our desire that any individuals in the population should go in danger of their lives, and I am quite certain that any reasonable request will be favourably considered by the Government. I should like to say that I know in such districts as Pietersburg, Lydenberg, and Waterberg, many hundreds of rifles are already held by the inhabitants, and, therefore, I was under the impression that we had met the wishes of the people in this respect, where reasonable cause could be shown.

*Education.*—We next come to the question of education. When the Government instituted a system of education it undertook the responsibility of giving free education. At the same time, it made it a definite point in its policy, that it should retain in its hands the appointment of teachers. We felt that so long as we undertook the financial responsibility we should retain that power. But we adopted that policy more for the reason that in that way we could secure greater efficiency among the teachers. I know that in the old days we have always had small local school committees, and you have urged us to revert to that policy. We have pointed out that in our opinion a small local committee is too much subject to small local prejudices and local interests, and that if a system of school committees is adopted with full preliminary powers, they should be appointed over a wider area than has hitherto been covered by the school committees. We believe that the objections which I have mentioned will thus be reduced to insignificance, and in the negotiations to which Mr Smuts referred this morning, which passed between the Christian Education Committee and the Government, we endeavoured to meet the wishes of the committee by the proposal that if committees were appointed they should be appointed over wider areas than has hitherto been the practice. The negotiations began in September last, and I was certainly given to understand that this question of the school committees with

power to appoint teachers was really the crux of the whole situation, and that the question of the quantity of Dutch taught in the schools was not an issue standing in the way. I know that great emphasis was laid on the fact that Dutch should be the medium of instruction, at least in the lower standards; and, as a matter of fact, that is at present being done. Now, we got as far as December last, and, as I say, the Government endeavoured to meet the views of the committee by a compromise in the matter of the area over which the committees should hold jurisdiction, and on the question of Dutch being the medium of instruction in the lower standards. The Government spent hours in trying to embody these principles in a draft memorandum. I am only sorry, gentlemen, that I have not had time to have the correspondence printed and translated into Dutch, so that each one of you might have had a copy. I do not propose to go into the various points raised in that memorandum. It was very long and very detailed, but it was, we hoped, possible to make it the basis of a compromise between ourselves and the Christian National Educational Committee. We endeavoured, so far as we could, to make it clear to the members of that committee that this was not a final proposal of the Government—not an ultimatum.

It was put forward as a draft proposal, upon which it might be possible to arrive at some compromise. But I am sorry to say that our proposals were absolutely rejected—that the door was shut in our faces; but I hope it may be opened again some day, because we hold very strong opinions on the question of education; and, while we recognise that you also have strong opinions, yet I cannot help hoping that, sooner or later, we may find a way of working together on this great question. I can only say that, if it appears good to members of the committee to re-open the question, we will be very glad to do so. . . .

I pass now to the question of the Lydenberg railway. This is really more a matter for the Inter-Colonial Council, and I know they have before them at the present moment certain proposals with regard to the building of this line by, I believe, certain private firms. I believe there are certain details in the proposals which are not entirely satisfactory, but I realise, as well as you do, how important it is to the people of Lydenberg that the railway should be carried there as soon as possible.

*Widows and Orphans.*—The next point, gentlemen, deals with poor widows and orphans, and I am sure you will not

misunderstand me, or think that I approach the question unsympathetically, if I ask you to leave the details of your proposals to be discussed between the Commission and the Government. There is only one point to which I would refer—a point which is often lost sight of—and that is with regard to the employment of the poor on public works. I know that the times and the condition of the country strongly impelled us to such a course, but on the broad question of policy I do not myself believe in it as a permanent part of our administration. In the first place, it is a very extravagant way of conducting public works, but what I think is a much more serious fault is, that if you establish this as a regular system, you are creating a class of permanent paupers in this country, who always look to the Government for help, who lose their spirit of independence and self-reliance, and who, instead of working out their own salvation on the land, and becoming useful, self-reliant citizens, are merely indigent folk, looking always for charitable doles. I think that we run the risk of committing a great mistake if we adopt this as a general and regular policy, and I should say that if we are obliged to take that step, only let us do it as a very last resource.

*The Native Question.*—Now, gentlemen, we come to the question of natives. In the first place, I am urged to carry out a rigid enforcement of the Squatters' Law. Now, in the neighbouring Colonies, though they have not precisely the same laws as we have, yet, as a matter of fact, those which contain approximately the same provisions as are contained in the Squatters' Law, have been allowed to remain almost inoperative. I know that, from time to time, yielding to popular agitation, the Governments have tried to enforce those laws, but such attempts have invariably brought the Government in conflict with the old landowners, and the farmers, and the occupiers, and those who have vested interests in the land. Now, you will remember—many of you from personal experience—that this matter has often been talked of in the Volksraad, and that the last resolution of the Volksraad was that it should be carried out as far as effective. Now, I should like to read to you—but I have already detained you so long—I should like to read to you a letter that was written by General Piet Cronje in his capacity of Superintendent of Natives. After reciting the instructions which he received, and the action which he took, he says:—

"The various Native Commissioners have unanimously given me to understand that, in districts where there are many natives on Government lands, it is impossible to comply with the instructions, for the following reasons:—In those districts where there are many natives the locations are too small, and thus many natives reside on Government lands. Now, if these natives were removed from Government lands, they could not trek to locations, because they are too small, neither will they go to work for the Boers, because they do not wish to live on barren fields. The consequence of this is that they fly across the borders, and in that way many natives are lost. The removal of natives from Government lands has thus the opposite result to my intention, namely, to supply the burghers with natives. The Native Commissioners can exercise much influence on the natives living on Government lands, and thereby assist the burghers." Now, so far as I can trace it—you, gentlemen, will probably know better than I—no attempt was ever made to put the Squatters' Law into operation, except on Government lands, except—I am speaking from memory—except, if I remember rightly, General Andries Cronje was successful, by his own personal influence with the natives, in inducing some of them to remove from one farm to another. From all that I can gather, and as far as I can trace it, the late Government found the greatest difficulty in carrying this law into effect. There is much in the principle of the law with which I am in entire sympathy, but I am sorry to confess that I am afraid that, if it were a rigidly-enforced law in any part of the Transvaal, we should lose an enormous number of natives. Of course I may be wrong, but it seems to me that it is a great risk to run, especially as that opinion was entertained by people who had practical experience of the working of the law in days gone by; and I am sure of this, that if rigidly enforced throughout the territory, it would cause a good deal of unrest, so that I think we should be wise, both you and I, to approach this difficult subject carefully, and to thrash the whole question out before we act at all precipitately. Now there are one or two questions which I do not propose to deal finally with. One is the question of the tax. The other is a question which is, in my opinion, a small question of detail—as to whether the natives should go to the Native Commissioner and pay their tax, or whether it should be collected by officials of the Government. But, in

regard to all these questions of native policy, I would point out that at the present time a Native Commission is sitting, of which your own Commissioner of Native Affairs is President, and, as that Commission will shortly be in Pretoria, I should be grateful if you would make your representations to that body, because I think that, while, not only this matter, but the whole question of native policy is under consideration, it would be hardly expedient or proper of the Government to suddenly alter the existing legislation. I would ask you, therefore, to take the opportunity afforded by the Commission sitting at Pretoria to explain your views.

Gentlemen, the next point is one purely of administration, upon which I do not propose to detain you. I will only assure you that if you make the representations you made to-day to the Commissioner of Lands, with regard to the Scab Act, he will give every consideration to your views.

*Swaziland.*—In regard to Swaziland, and I may say also in regard to Asiatic legislation, the Government is only too anxious to take action. But meanwhile we have to wait the sanction of His Majesty's Secretary of State, which, I hope, will be granted without any undue delay.

*Divisional Councils.*—There is only one other point I would refer to, and that is with regard to Divisional Councils. I may say that some time ago I was informed that the creation of these councils would be welcomed by the residents of the country, and, therefore, I took the early opportunity of bringing it forward as a probable contingency. I am glad to have had an expression of opinion from so representative a body as yourselves, and I can give you an assurance that the Government is not to hurry over this matter. The only two other points I have not touched upon are the Gold Law and the Diamond Law, and I would be glad, as I told you this morning, if you hear the views of the Attorney-General upon those. I will only thank you for the patience with which you have heard my remarks. . . .

The Congress resumed at eight o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN brought to the serious consideration of the delegates the rumours about a trek to German East Africa. He asked the delegates not to let themselves be misled by people who desired to go to that country for speculative purposes, and to bring a large section of their community into greater misery

and poverty than existed at present. He hoped that every one of them would do his utmost to uproot this thing from among their people. Experience taught them that from the time their forefathers trekked into the Transvaal all other treks had been failures and ended in misery. There was no better country than the Transvaal. Further, he thought that they had received great encouragement that day from the Lieutenant-Governor's reply. They saw clearly that the Government was not going to force a thirty million loan on the country, and if they had nothing else to get, that one point was one for which they could be grateful. The Lieutenant-Governor had also shown them that he was prepared to re-open the negotiations with regard to education, which had been recently closed. From the Lieutenant-Governor's speech it was apparent that the Government was willing to co-operate with them. His (the Chairman's) object was that they should live happily in this country and with the Government which ruled the country to-day, and which had the power to make them happy. Were they going to say farewell to the Transvaal because they could not get this or that, and go into another country, leaving a dear land like the Transvaal behind them? They must rather improve the country and erect a monument at every spruit and on every hill to show what they had done for the country. Why should they trek from a country for which they had made such great sacrifices? Organisation meant fidelity and honour to their country, and they must show that they were a people who could organise themselves and who could co-operate. Let them not show offence at every paltry cause; let them stand together, help the poor, and work among their people in the country, and maintain their morals faithfully before the Almighty, and they could in certainty and justice expect that God would grant every blessing on their efforts. Let them try to bury the past, and let there be no more division among their people. He was very hopeful to think that they had among them to-night people who, a few years ago, were very bitter towards each other. That night they were sitting together, working for the prosperity of a great nation. It was God's will that division among them should come to an end, and let them do everything in their power to eradicate all ill-feeling. Let them make an end to all offensive utterances. The honour of their people was a matter of very great importance to them, and they must show that they had reason to be proud of their nation.

From the interest evinced in the Congress he felt sure that the last few days would bring forth good for the Africander nation. The Africander nation had shown itself to be a greater nation than it was ever thought to be. People told him that certain things had happened to create ill-feeling, yet when at a meeting like that they had stuck together and discussed matters in such a calm and peaceful manner, it showed that they were a great nation indeed, and he considered that the Congress had been a thorough success.

MR SCHALK BURGER said they all met as brothers. It was often disapproved of in certain quarters if they tried to remain faithful to the traditions of their fathers; it was disapproved of if they said they wished to remain faithful to their language, religion, and morals; while such a feeling was esteemed very highly by every other civilised nation. Leaving all political interference alone, their only object at present was the establishment of their nation, which had struggled for three years to obtain its rights, which had sacrificed much, and which eventually submitted to God's will, and to God they should look for guidance, even under the present Government, and ask Him what they should do to re-establish this great nation of theirs. It had been proved by the Congress that they were still of one opinion, willing to co-operate with one another, and to fulfil their duty as Christians and loyal burghers of the State. They had heard to-day that the Government had given them another chance to negotiate with it. They should not wait for the education of their children. Whatever the Government might do, they should do everything in their power to educate their children and maintain their religious traditions and language. Let them remain more than ever decided in the matter; let them determine that their children should have such education that they should not disgrace their country, religion, people, or language. Let them all shake hands as one great brotherhood, and forget all past differences among themselves. There was a great question before them—that was the question of their nationality. "Union was strength," and as sons of the country they should ever act up to that motto, and live amicably together. They should leave all individual interests aside, and think of the future of their country and nation. Let them try to forget as much as possible. When they looked back and saw what they lost during the

terrible struggle which they had gone through, they shoul not lose sight of the fact that they had not lost the religion o their people, their Father, God, nor their Church. Their watch man was still standing faithful on Zion's walls. Let them watch and point those things out to their children in a Christian spiri He expected that the labours of the Congress would bring fort real fruit for the welfare of their people.

The Congress was closed with prayer at 9.15 P.M.

# APPENDIX C

## TERMS OF SURRENDER

His Excellency, General Lord Kitchener, and His Excellency, Lord Milner, on behalf of the British Government, and Messrs M. T. Steyn, J. Brebner, General C. R. De Wet, General C. Oliver, and Judge J. B. M. Hertzog, acting as the Government of the Orange Free State, and Messrs S. W. Burger, F. W. Reitz, Generals Louis Botha, J. H. Delarey, Lucas Meyer, Krogh, acting as the Government of the South African Republic, on behalf of their respective burghers desirous to terminate the present hostilities, agree on the following Articles:—

1. The burgher forces in the field will forthwith lay down their arms, handing over all guns, rifles, and munitions of war in their possession or under their control, and desist from any further resistance to the authority of His Majesty, King Edward VII., whom they recognise as their lawful Sovereign. The manner and details of this surrender will be arranged between Lord Kitchener and Commandant-General Botha, Assistant Commandant-General Delarey, and Chief Commandant De Wet.

2. All burghers in the field outside the limits of the Transvaal or Orange River Colony and all prisoners of war at present outside South Africa, who are burghers, will, on duly declaring their acceptance of the position of subjects of His Majesty, King Edward VII., be gradually brought back to their homes as soon as transport can be provided and their means of subsistence ensured.

3. The burghers so surrendering or so returning will not be deprived of their personal liberty or their property.

4. No proceedings, civil or criminal, will be taken against any of the burghers surrendering or so returning for any acts in

connection with the prosecution of the war. The benefit of thi clause will not extend to certain acts, contrary to usages o war, which have been notified by Commander-in-Chief to th Boer Generals, and which shall be tried by court-martia immediately after the close of hostilities.

5. The Dutch language will be taught in public schools i the Transvaal and Orange River Colony where the parents of th children desire it, and will be allowed in courts of law whe necessary for the better and more effectual administration o justice.

6. The possession of rifles will be allowed in the Transvaa and Orange River Colony to persons requiring them for thei protection on taking out a licence, according to law.

7. Military administration in the Transvaal and Orang River Colony will, at the earliest possible date, be succeeded b Civil Government, and as soon as circumstances permit, repre sentative institutions, leading up to self-government, will b introduced.

8. The question of granting the franchise to natives will no be decided until after the introduction of self-government.

9. No special tax will be imposed on landed property i the Transvaal and Orange River Colony to defray the expense of the war.

10. As soon as conditions permit, a Commission, on whic the local inhabitants will be represented, will be appointed i each district of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, unde the presidency of a magistrate or other official, for the purpos of assisting the restoration of the people to their homes and supplying those who, owing to war losses, are unable to provid themselves with food, shelter, and the necessary amount of seed, stock, implements, etc., indispensable to the resumption of thei normal occupations.

His Majesty's Government will place at the disposal of these Commissions a sum of £3,000,000 for the above purposes, and will allow all notes issued under Law 1 of 1900 of the South African Republic and all receipts given by officers in the field of the late Republics, or under their orders, to be presented to a Judicial Commission, which will be appointed by the Government, and if such notes and receipts are found by this Commission to have been duly issued in return for valuable

considerations, they will be received by the first-named Commissions as evidence of war losses suffered by the persons to whom they were originally given.

In addition to the above-named free grant of £3,000,000, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to make advances on loan for the same purposes free of interest for two years, and afterwards repayable over a period of years with three per cent. interest. No foreigner or rebel will be entitled to the benefit of this clause.

# APPENDIX D

## STATUTES OF *HET VOLK*

1. THE object of this Association is to bring about harmo and mutual co-operation of the population of the Transvaal, a to advance the general prosperity and progress of the coun and people.

2. This Association, constituted by resolution of the Peopl Congress of 24th May 1904, consists of a Head Committ elected by that Congress, and of which Louis Botha (chairma S. W. Burger (vice-chairman), J. H. de la Rey, C. F. Beye Ewald Esselen, A. D. W. Wolmarans, and J. C. Smuts are t members.

Further, of District Committees and Ward Committees, whi have as yet to be elected in accordance with these Statutes.

3. Two members of the Head Committee shall retire annual beginning with Messrs A. D. W. Wolmarans and J. C. Smuts, a so on in rotation. They are, however, re-eligible. The membe of the Head Committee shall be elected by a majority of vo at the yearly Congress. The Chairman of the Head Committe who is at the same time Chairman of the People's Congress, sh be elected by this body. He retires every three years, but m be re-elected.

4. Every Ward Committee shall consist of at most sev members, of which four will form a quorum.

It shall, however, be permitted to the members of this assoc tion to found more branches with its own Ward Committe provided that the members of each branch number at least fifty

5. The District Committee shall consist of the Chairman every Ward Committee, besides one member, elected by majority of votes by every Ward Committee; one-third of the members shall form a quorum.

6. Every committee elects its own Chairman and Secretary.

7. These Committees shall be elected for a period of two years, beginning with the date of election.

8. Every year a People's Congress shall be held. The yearly Congress shall consist of:—(*a*) The Head Committee; (*b*) Delegates to be elected by the District Committees, so that every ward has one delegate. The date and place of meeting of the People's Congress shall be fixed every year by the Head Committee, and notice thereof shall be given to the different District Committees. District Committees shall, immediately on receipt thereof, elect the delegates and forward the names of those elected to the Chairman of the Head-Committee before the meeting.

9. The duties of the Ward Committees are:—(*a*) To keep a register of the ordinary members; (*b*) To look after the interests of this association in their respective wards, and in conjunction with their respective District Committees; (*c*) To regularly report to their respective District Committees.

10. The duties of the District Committees are:—(*a*) To look after the interests of their respective districts in conjunction with the Head Committee, as well as with the different Ward Committees resorting under them; (*b*) To regularly report to the Head Committee.

11. The duties of the Head Committee are:—(*a*) To supervise the different subordinate committees; (*b*) To convene a People's Congress at least once a year; (*c*) To call a special meeting at the written request, or with the written approval, of at least five District Committees; (*d*) To call a special Congress, if circumstances demand it; (*e*) To bring to the notice of the Government, when desired, matters of general interest, and to look after the same; (*f*) To take such steps as may seem necessary under the circumstances, including the calling of conferences elsewhere, concerning the interests of South Africa.

12. The retiring members of the Committees remain in function till their successors are appointed, and then they hand over all documents, etc., to their successors.

13. Every committee may make its own regulations, without prejudice to the general rules of this Association.

14. If the Head Committee is of opinion that the committees in one or more wards or districts are under influences which are detrimental or hostile to the principles or interests of this Association, the Head Committee may dissolve such committees by resolution, and take such steps as it may deem necessary.

15. Only in urgent cases may Ward Committees correspo directly with the Head Committee without first consulting th respective District Committees.

16. Where mutual differences can not be removed, t interested parties may apply to the Head Committee. T Head Committee shall then decide, and its decision shall final. The Head Committee has the power to intervene in differences which concern the interests of the Association, a to decide finally.

17. As members are admitted all white persons who a permanently domiciled in the Transvaal, have completed th sixteenth year, adhere to these rules of association, and si the following declaration :—

"The undersigned ..... hereby declares tl he will support the 'People's Union,' and binds himself faithfully observe the obligations connected with its membershi

Date.....
Place....."

18. The agenda of the yearly People's Congress is made by the Head Committee, and shall consist of such subje as the Head Committee wish to bring forward of their o motion, and such further points as the District Committees se in, at least one month beforehand to, and subject to the appro of, the Head Committee.

19. These statutes may be altered or amended by resoluti of the People's Congress, or by the Head Committee, subj to confirmation by the People's Congress.

Any alteration or amendment by the Head Committee sh be of force till the next meeting of the People's Congress.

# APPENDIX E

## PROGRESSIVE LUNCH

MR GOCH said that they were commencing their career as an association under splendid auspices. He felt very proud of the men who had come as delegates to assist at the formation of this organisation. He felt that they had from the districts that had sent those men the best representatives, in whom they had perfect confidence, as men well fitted to carry out the work that lay before them. They would see from the papers that the Afrikander Bond had had a meeting at Cradock. They would find that the average number of members for each branch worked out at forty, whilst the Progressives started with an average of two hundred and thirty. That was a good start, and it augured well for what they might attain in the future. It was necessary that an organisation such as this should be formed. Individuals might hold opinions with regard to political matters very strongly, but they were merely units, and however strongly they might hold these opinions they had no weight beyond the individual himself. Unless that individual joined himself with others around him, so that he might give expression to that opinion through corporate organisation, it had no weight in a community. Opinion should be formed which would influence the occurrence of political events, and thus the organisation would become a power in the land. They had arrived at the stage at which that was necessary. They did not raise themselves in opposition to any one. They meant to work for their principles to the best of their ability without defying any one. They intended to go forward believing that the principles of the Constitution were those which would best serve the interests of this country, and for that reason they meant to maintain them wherever and whenever they could. While they did not seek to

oppose any one, it was necessary that on an occasion such as this, in order that they might be clearly understood, to make some reference to those who took the opposite view to that which the Progressives took. He did not wish to make special reference to their friends in Johannesburg and elsewhere who differed from them on the question of Responsible Government. He believed that to be only a passing phase. He believed that was not the root of the question on which a community should be divided. On their side they accepted the view expressed in the King's speech, and desired to support His Majesty in the policy which he had foreshadowed.

They did not forego their belief in favour of Responsible Government. This Colony must by-and-by have control of its own affairs. They were not, therefore, indifferent to their friends who made that the forefront of their cry. They hoped that when their friends had seen the Constitution they would find it to their advantage not to cavil at it any more, but to seek the co-operation of their fellows in order to carry out loyally the principles of that Constitution. He was very hopeful that in view of the fact that there was very little dividing the parties, they might, by-and-by, at any rate, present a united front. He did not wish to say a single word to offend the susceptibilities of those now differing from them. He believed these people were wrong in the course they were taking, but he also believed that they would see soon that their best and truest interests lay in their joining with the Progressive party in the objects the latter had before them. That did not, however, apply to the party lately formed, calling itself *Het Volk*. There were differences between the Progressives and them which he thought were very deep-rooted, and almost impossible to be surmounted. Even with regard to that, he hoped they might at some time or other understand each other better, but, at the present moment, the difference between them was very great indeed. Proceeding, Mr Goch said:—I wish to refer to a few remarks made by the members of the Controlling Committee of *Het Volk* in the different speeches they have made. The speeches, extracts of which I am about to quote to you, were made by men who have responsible and leading positions in that organisation, and, as the words expressed by one presumably binds the rest, what we see has been stated must be regarded as the voice of that body as a whole. I will deal with the remarks made by General De la Rey at Potchefstroom on Thursday:—

"He objected to the agreement between Mr Chamberlain and the capitalists regarding the thirty millions war debt. The people were ripe for self-government," and, added General De la Rey, "they could undertake the responsibility of self-government. Three years had passed since they lost the war, and the people found themselves in the mud. The people could be and should be saved from their debt, and would that three millions save them? Never. Would England send them money to save them? Never. But the Government could save them by granting full self-government and enabling them to raise a loan, and thus right the wrong that had been done."

These, continued the speaker, are the men who are crying out for Responsible Government. The motive is as clear as daylight. On the one hand, repudiation of just liability; on the other hand, a brazen attempt to place their hands in the treasury of this country and extract from it money to distribute amongst their own people. Yes; and not only that, but to extract it from those who pay the taxes, whom, at the same time, they abuse in every possible way. We, the progressive part of the community, contribute seven-tenths of the whole of the taxes of this country, and it is that money that they wish to lay hold of to pay the debts of their own people. Can you have a stronger motive for the cry which they are raising that they must have Responsible Government? Yes, if they have the majority, they will play a fine old game with this country. I wish to remind you of remarks made at the same meeting by General J. C. Smuts. He says the old idea of Afrikanderdom was to establish a united South Africa stretching from the Cape to the Zambesi or further, but they failed. Let them turn over a new leaf. They would be satisfied with nothing but Responsible Government. They wanted no half-measures, no half-egg. They invited all white men to join with them, and he was sure, if they did that, the old ideal of African unity would still be realised. I do not think we need go very far to seek for an interpretation of these words. If they mean anything at all, they mean: Give us Responsible Government, and we will restore the old ideals of Afrikander unity. What is that? It is Afrikander unity under an independent flag. Are we content that the power of the Government should be handed over to men who thus express themselves at the very threshold of a new era, which we fondly hope will be one of peace. No, it is not so. We cannot see peace anywhere when

these people come forward with ideas of that kind. We are bound to fight that, and we cannot fight them otherwise than by organisation, organisation everywhere throughout the country. Give every man in the land an opportunity to join your forces, apply yourself in order to resist with all your power those pernicious ideas.

Gentlemen, I wish to draw your attention to the remarks made by one of the leaders of that Association, whom we must regard as one of the most solid men amongst them. He took a leading part in the late Volksraad, and was really the leader of that body. He is a man of acute intellect, a man who enforces his will upon his fellows in a remarkable degree. I refer to Mr A. D. Wolmarans, who said at Nylstroom :—

"The question was not one between Boer and Briton, but it was a question between capitalist and non-capitalist—the working classes and the agriculturist *versus* the moneyed class. The object of the capitalist was to work against the artisan and the farming community, and the capitalists had declared war and were continuing it against the working classes. He contended that the working classes and the Boers should stand together against the capitalists, and endeavour to form a policy which would make the country a white man's. . . . The capitalists had imported Chinese in order that they could make a greater profit; it was not because there was a shortage of native labour. It was the duty of the working classes to join the Boers in order that employment might be given to white men. . . . When the Briton—and he (Mr Goch) supposed the working classes were meant here—and the Boer worked together, then would the Transvaal be lifted up to Heaven."

It needs no great effort (continued Mr Goch) to interpret the meaning of these words. *They preach strife between labour and capital.* At the present time we are apt to say that there is a feeling of harmony between the men and those who employ them. I believe that the working classes honestly recognise that they are being well paid, and that those who employ them have every regard for their best interests. This man, a leader who will take a very prominent part in the government of the country if Responsible Government were now given, does not hesitate to stoop to the miserable device of raising enmity between people who are now in harmony to attain his own objects. He believes that there may be some chance that some crevice might be found in which he could drive a wedge, which would divide the people to-day, who as employer and employed are united amicably and in

harmony. He seeks to do this to attain his own ends—ends which others of that body have clearly indicated to us. And war is to be called between the employers of labour and the employees on the mines. It is incited by a feeling of hatred to the capitalists. We can understand Mr Wolmarans when he hates the capitalist, because in his heart he has never forgiven the war. In his heart he feels that the capitalists of this country had something to do towards bringing about that war, and he pays them out—he endeavours to pay them out—in this way, by dividing the people whom they employ from their employers. That in itself warns us that if we want prosperity in this country, we must stand together and get to join with us all those who will endeavour to uphold the principle that the capitalist, whoever he may be, as a leader of a great industry, is entitled not to be abused by the people who would be statesmen here. He is entitled to the respect of all self-respecting men, and entitled to receive the support of every one who seeks public position in this land. Mr Wolmarans goes farther. Give them Responsible Government and they will make a furious attack upon the introduction of Chinese labour. He states clearly enough that there are enough Kafirs in the land. It is a clap-trap cry probably. He at any rate should know better after all the evidence adduced in connection with that question; but it suits his book to cry down the Chinese, as in effect he does, because he hopes by that means he will gain the working men on his side. He is trying to instil into their minds the idea that if once the Chinese are removed, they would get a better chance of employment.

We are here in the presence of one of the most vital questions of this country. The man who would lay rough hands upon that which we have done after a long struggle—providing ourselves to-day with that labour which we require, and placing this industry in such a position that prosperity never previously dreamt of will come before long—the man who sets his hand to the task of removing from the Statute Book that law must understand that when he does so he puts back this country into the abyss from which it has only just now arisen. Are you, as men and citizens, prepared to accept at their hands a policy which will ruin all your prospects? We know they are intimately acquainted with the whole of that subject. We know all the hopes of prosperity which we have built upon the success of this Labour Ordinance, and any removal of facilities thereby

granted will plunge the whole country—not only the Transvaal, but the whole of South Africa—back into ruin. Mr Wolmarans has said that with the Briton (meaning the working classes) and the Boer working together, then would the Transvaal be lifted up to Heaven. He will lift up to Heaven the very hell-broth of seething trouble. I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without referring to that cry so incessantly raised by the outside districts, especially against the capitalists. Every town, every village, has a feeling of jealousy against Johannesburg. It is especially strong in Pretoria. I desire to single out Pretoria especially in connection with this matter. Pretoria is probably desirous of protecting her own interests in preserving around her the Government establishments in her midst. They have no right to set themselves up against Johannesburg on the wild fear that we are going to interfere with their vested interests. . . .

I beg of all those people to discharge from their minds the idea that Johannesburg seeks to control the policy of this country. She does nothing of the kind. She feels that, unless the countryside is in a large measure with her, she herself will sink into a unit. Though this will, perhaps, be a large one, nevertheless she will be clipped of all that force and power which she might have in unison with those people. That is what we desire, and it is why we hail with such satisfaction as one of the germs of growth the organisation which this day we have founded. Let us stretch out the hand of friendship, the hand of support, to all who think with us in the main lines of policy of this country, and let us make them feel that they are no longer isolated, but that they will gladly, openly, honestly, give their adhesion to the principles which we maintain. He begged to propose the Association.

# APPENDIX F

## DINNER TO RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION

### EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES

AFTER the loyal toasts had been honoured, Mr M. R. GREENLEES gave "The Transvaal Responsible Government Association." He said he took it that all present were in favour of the Responsible Government for the Transvaal, but the only question was as to when it should be introduced. Their Association said at once. He thought if a poll were taken in this country and also in Great Britain that the result in each country would be a substantial majority in favour of Responsible Government being granted. But the British Government, the High Commissioner, and a considerable minority in the Transvaal said: "No; there must be a period of probation." Why should there be? Was it because the Government distrusted the Boer? He did not think it was; if they could not trust him now, how could they do so in two, five, or ten years? That was not the real reason of the delay. The real reason was that it was a tradition of the British Empire that Representative Government should come before Responsible Government. It had become a sort of pre-ordained system. Those who were students of constitutional history knew this, but unfortunately a large party of people in this country did not know it, and thought they were not being trusted. They were asking nothing revolutionary, but simply that one stepping-stone in the constitutional history of this country be passed over, under very exceptional circumstances.

Mr E. P. SOLOMON, after explaining the objects for which the gathering was held, and urging moderation upon those present, said:—In dealing with the toast Mr Greenlees has proposed to-night, it will be necessary for me to explain to you the objects of our Association, and in doing that I shall have to criticise, or rather compare, our objects with the objects of another association—the Progressive Association, or

what I call the Retrogressive Association. Our objects are as follows: "To advocate the immediate establishment of Responsible Government in the Transvaal for the following reasons: (1) That political stability and contentment can only be assured by the full admission of the principle that the wishes and the interests of the people of this Colony must prevail, subject only to the highest Imperial considerations. (2) That the growth of a vigorous independent spirit in political life will inevitably be retarded by the establishment of any system short of complete Responsible Government." There you have in a few words not only what the object is—the immediate introduction of Responsible Government in this country—but the reasons, in very small compass, why we want it. Now let us see the platform of the Progressive Association, and let me say here that when I saw that association had formed, I rejoiced. I was glad, because your political life in this country cannot be very sound unless you have opposition. The very essence of Responsible Government is opposition. By opposition you get out from your opponents everything that is necessary to make political life stirring in this country. Now, gentlemen, let me tell you that in regard to these planks in the platform of the Progressive Association, we are at one with them on, I think, five. I think they have altered that clause about the flag. They have crossed out "flag" and changed it to "maintain the principle of Imperial union." On that point we are at one with them. There is not a man in this room, not a man in our Association, who would dare to say he was not in favour of this; if he did, he would leave our Association to-morrow. Their second plank I shall leave until later. The next was, "To uphold the principle that all voters shall have the same privileges and their votes the same value." We agree with that. I told Lord Milner at a meeting, the other day, that all voters must be equal. No one man should have a right over another man. So we are at one with that. The fourth is, "To establish a firm and just Asiatic and native policy, in accordance with Transvaal ideas." That is our plank, not theirs. I will tell you why. They dare not, under the representative form of government, claim that right without the consent of the British Government. With Self-Government, with Responsible Government, we have the right. They have to ask Downing Street for permission before they can claim that. No. 5 is, "To support

any measure that tends to make the Transvaal a white man's home." Who is opposed to that in this room? No one. "To oppose interference in domestic affairs by party politicians elsewhere." That is ours. How dare they ask for that in their platform, for once we have Responsible Government in this country, home politicians dare not interfere. If you have Representative Government in this country, your laws will be subject to veto at home—I am coming to the question of veto, as Lord Milner interpreted it, later on—but when we have Responsible Government we dare them to interfere with us unless it trenches upon Imperial interests. That is the only and sole right they have. When we pass laws in this country under Responsible Government which are opposed to Imperial interests, then the Imperial Government steps forward and says "Stop." They have never attempted it in any other country, and never would in this country. No. 7 is, "To restrict the franchise to white people only." That is ours. Now we come to the second heading on their platform—Representative Government. What do they mean by "Representative Government"? Has any man in this Association ever dared to come forward and tell us what form of Representative Government they want? They dare not. . . . I want to know what the Progressive party wants—what form of Representative Government they want. Responsible Government is also Representative Government — it is pure Representative Government. The distinction between Responsible Government and what they call Representative Government is in this essential principle: that the representative form of government, as they call theirs, is associated with an irresponsible Ministry. With Responsible Government, which is also a representative form of government, you have a responsible Ministry — responsible not only to Parliament, but to the people, or, I should say, to the people through Parliament. And when the Government under Responsible Government do not carry out the wishes of the people, they go, and the majority in the House elect a new Ministry. What have you with what they call Representative Government? You have a Ministry elected by the Crown, and that Ministry retains office as long as the Crown pleases—"subject to the pleasure of the Crown" are the words, I think. No matter what resolutions are passed adverse to their policy by members of the House, no matter how severe are the

censures from the House on the Ministry, they retain their positions, subject to the pleasure of the Crown. You have no right to turn them out; they remain there probably for life. Don't tell me this is an imaginary idea of mine. I have lived in Cape Colony, where I saw that thing done. I saw under a representative form of government, votes of censure passed, not once, but several times, on the last Ministry, and they simply kept their seats and defied Parliament and the people of the country. Is that the form of government you want for this country? That was the essential difference.

Now we come to the question of the veto. Lord Milner, in an interview he had with the Progressive party this week or last week, told them that the veto was the same whether it was under Representative Government or Responsible Government. Gentlemen, I do not want to put my views against a great authority like Lord Milner, but I tell you, and I tell him, that in theory he may be right, but in practice he is not. The only time—as I have told you already—that the British Government interferes with measures passed in a House of Parliament where you have Responsible Government is when they trench upon the rights of Imperial interests. I do not know of a single occasion in Cape Colony where there was interference since Responsible Government, but there were numerous cases when they had Representative Government. Where this Government is they do interfere. Therefore in theory Lord Milner was quite right, but in practice he was entirely wrong. . . .

The question we have to decide in this country is whether we can be ruled by Downing Street, influenced by politicians all over the United Kingdom, or whether we are going to rule our own affairs in this country. Whether the people of this country are going to be ruled by the people — that is the point you are going to decide to-night. I am told by men who don't agree with me: "Don't worry; there is practically no difference between us." I tell them that if they call that no difference, they don't understand the question. The difference is most vital, in my opinion, as to whether you men of intelligence are going to rule this country and pass laws without interference, or whether you are going to be dictated to from Downing Street by a number of politicians who don't know you, your affairs, or circumstances. . . . Now we are told by Lord Milner in an interview, that, "Apart entirely from any

personal opinion, I have received instructions from the Home Government to make what suggestions I can, and to throw all the light I can upon the execution of what is their settled policy, which is to introduce a form of Representative Legislature, elected by the people with an Executive which will continue for a time to be appointed by the Crown."

That evidently is the form of government they are going to give. If that is what the British Government is going to give us it will not meet with the requirements of this country; it will not meet with the approval of the majority of the people of this country. I go further, and say that if that measure is forced upon us it will engender the most bitter feelings in the community, and will cause disruption amongst the English portions of the Transvaal. And I tell you why I say that. If that form of Government is given to us, at the very first election which takes place, we who are in favour of Responsible Government will join hands and stand as one man in this country. We will elect men to that Parliament who will support the immediate introduction of Responsible Government. There will be no split then amongst the Responsibles, as they want to boast about, but we will stand together on that great question and return men pledged to carry at the first session a Responsible Government Constitution for this country. And if that be so, I tell you, gentlemen, we will return a majority in that Parliament, and where are they then? You pass a resolution to adjourn the House, and ask the English Government to decide the steps they are going to take on that measure, or otherwise you block every measure the Government introduces; you stop their supplies until you force them to give you what the majority of the House is resolved upon. I am told by my friends on the other side that that is very un-English; that it is not fair. My reply is: "It is politics, and it is the right of the majority of the country to rule and carry their resolutions into effect." . . .

But before I go further let me tell you, if this election takes place, what the result will be. The result will be that you create ill-feeling amongst our personal friends. There will be disruption amongst the English section of this community, and there will be the alienation of the Dutch population. And once this disruption and alienation occurs, it will take years to bring them into the position they formerly occupied. Are these men going to take this responsibility for the sake of one solitary year? I think not. . . .

I am going to quote you the opinion of a man like Lord Durham : "It is difficult to understand how any English statesman could have imagined that Representative and Irresponsible Government could be successfully combined. It has never been clearly explained what are the Imperial interests which require this complete nullification of Representative Government. It was a vain delusion to imagine that by mere limitations in the Constitutional Act or an exclusive system of Government strong in the consciousness of welding the public opinion of the majority it could regard certain portions of the provincial revenues as sacred from its control." (It is the same way here.) "It needs no change in the principles of Government, no invention of a new constitutional theory to supply a remedy which would, in my opinion, completely remove existing political disorders." Then he goes on to illustrate that the form of government which should be introduced was Responsible Government. The state of that country[1] then was infinitely worse than the state of this country. I can take General Botha into the Rand Club, and you will see gentlemen there welcoming him, and who are glad to see him. That was not the state in Canada. They were at loggerheads and suspicious of each other—opposed at every meeting and every assembly, in the streets and everywhere. You have only to read this report—one of the finest ever written by a statesman from England—to find the position. What was the result? For once the British Government accepted the counsel given them, and a Bill was passed to give Canada Responsible Government. I will now read the editor's notes as to the effect of that: "It is true that Durham's hopes in one sense were never realised: the English and the French races have never fused into one. It is impossible to destroy a white nation, and the French of Canada retain their language, their religion, and their cherished customs. But the two races, sensible of their own common dangers, and not unresponsive to a large-hearted policy, were able to live in amity until in the fullness of time the legislative union of the two Canadas gave way to the great Federal Dominion of 1867." That was the result—although the two nations did not fuse into one, they worked together harmoniously. The bitter feelings and enmities were suppressed, and Canada progressed and became a Dominion. . . .

[1] Canada.

# APPENDIX G

## LETTERS PATENT PASSED UNDER THE GREAT SEAL OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, PROVIDING FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF A LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY IN THE COLONY OF THE TRANSVAAL

Dated 31st March, 1905.

EDWARD THE SEVENTH, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India: To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. Whereas by Our Letters Patent under the Great Seal of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, bearing date at Westminster, the 23rd day of September, 1902, We did constitute the office of Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Our Colony of the Transvaal, and did make provision for a Legislative Council in and for the said Colony;

And whereas We think fit that the people of Our said Colony should be represented in the Legislature thereof by elected members, and We are minded to amend the said Letters Patent in order to provide for the election of such members, and to make other and further provision for the Government of the said Colony;

Now know ye that We do declare Our will and pleasure to be as follows:—

### *Legislative Assembly*

I.—(1) There shall be a Legislative Assembly in the Colony, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor and of not less than six nor more than nine official members, and, save as hereinafter provided, of not less than thirty nor more than thirty-five elected members.

(2) The official members shall be such persons holding office under the Government of the Colony and being members of the Executive Council as We may from time to time appoint by any Instruction or Warrant under Our Sign Manual and Signet, or through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State.

(3) The elected members shall be persons chosen by the voters in districts constituted as hereinafter provided.

*Official Members: Provisional Appointments*

II. The official members shall hold office during Our pleasure.

Provided that whenever any official member shall cease to perform the duties of his office under the Government of the Colony the Governor may, by an Instrument under the Public Seal, appoint some person holding office under the Government of the Colony, and being a member of the Executive Council, to be provisionally an official member in his place. Every such provisional appointment may be disallowed by Us, through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or may be revoked by the Governor by any such Instrument as aforesaid.

*Qualification of Voters*

III.—(1) Every white male British subject of the age of twenty-one years and upwards who is a qualified person as hereinafter described, and who is not subject to any of the legal incapacities hereinafter mentioned, shall be entitled to be registered as a voter. But no person shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, or to vote, in more than one district.

(2) The following persons shall be qualified persons :—

(*a*) Any person who has been enrolled on the latest list of burghers of the late South African Republic and entitled to vote for members of the First Volksraad.

(*b*) Any person who, in the twelve months next before the date on which any registration of voters shall commence, has for a period of not less than six months or for periods, whether consecutive or not, amounting in the aggregate to not less than six months, occupied any premises within the Colony which, together with the land on which such premises are situate, shall be of the value of £100, or of the annual value of £10.

*Joint Occupiers*

Provided that if any premises are jointly occupied by more persons than one, each of such joint occupiers shall, in case the total value or the total annual value of such premises when divided by the number of such joint occupiers is not less than £100, or £10 respectively, if otherwise qualified, be entitled to be registered as a voter in respect of such premises. Provided further that in case such joint occupiers shall own or be interested in such premises in unequal shares or proportions no such joint occupier shall be entitled to be registered as a voter unless his share or proportion shall, regard being had to the total value of the premises, be of the value of £100, or of annual value of £10.

*Annual Value defined*

The annual value of premises shall mean the gross annual rent at which the premises together with the land on which they are situated and with which they are occupied are or might reasonably be expected to be let, and the term premises shall include any part of a building separately let or occupied from the rest of the building and under the exclusive control of the lessee or occupier.

(*c*) Any person who within the twelve months as aforesaid has been, for a period of not less than six months or for periods, whether consecutive or not, amounting in the aggregate to not less than six months, in receipt of salary or wages at the rate of not less than £100 a-year, *bonâ fide* earned within the Colony.

Salary or wages shall include any money or valuable consideration of any kind whatsoever received as remuneration for any work or service.

*Disqualification of Voters*

IV. No person shall be entitled to be registered as a voter who shall have been:—

(1) Convicted since the 31st day of May, 1902, of treason or at any time of murder, unless he shall have obtained a free pardon.

(2) Convicted at any time of any offence and sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine, which imprisonment

shall not have expired at least three years before the date of the commencement of registration, unless he shall have obtained a free pardon.

(3) In receipt within twelve months of the commencement of any registration of voters of relief from public funds not being relief by way of repatriation under Article 10 of the Terms of Peace of the 31st May, 1902. Provided that treatment without payment therefor in any hospital supported wholly or partly out of public funds shall not be regarded as relief from public funds.

*Conduct of Elections*

V. The registration of voters, the preparation of lists of voters, and all other matters relating to the qualification and election of and the vacation of seats by elected members shall be such as may be prescribed by any Order or Orders in Our Privy Council, or by any Law or Laws of the Colony.

*Division of Colony into Electoral Districts*

VI.—(1) The Lieutenant-Governor shall, as soon as may be after the completion of the final lists of voters made in pursuance of any such first registration as may be prescribed as aforesaid, appoint three Commissioners, and may, on the death, resignation, or absence from the Colony of any of the said Commissioners appoint another person to take his place, and any person so appointed shall have all the powers and shall perform all the duties of the Commissioner in whose place he is appointed.

(2) The Commissioners shall divide the Transvaal into not less than thirty nor more than thirty-five districts for the purpose of the election of members until such time as there shall be a redivision of the Colony as hereinafter provided. The Commissioners shall give a name to each district, and one member shall be elected for each district.

(3) In dividing the Transvaal into districts the Commissioners shall give due consideration to

(*a*) Existing boundaries of wards, municipalities, and magisterial districts, or other like divisions of the Colony.

(*b*) Community or diversity of interest.

(*c*) Means of communication.

(*d*) Physical features.

(4) The number of registered voters, as ascertained by any registration of qualified voters carried out for the purpose, divided by the number of districts or the nearest whole number to the quotient so ascertained (hereinafter called the "quota of voters"), shall, so far as possible, be the number of voters in each district, but the Commissioners may adopt a margin of allowance to be used whenever necessary, having regard to the considerations set forth in sub-section (3) of this section, provided that in no case shall the voters in any one district be more by five per cent., or less by five per cent., than the quota of voters.

(5) The Commissioners shall submit to the Lieutenant-Governor a list of districts, together with such particulars as they consider necessary, and the Lieutenant-Governor may refer to the Commissioners for further consideration any matter relating to such list, or arising out of the powers or duties of the Commissioners. The Lieutenant-Governor shall publish the list as finally settled by the Commissioners in the *Transvaal Government Gazette*, and thereafter, save as hereinafter provided, the list shall be the list of districts.

### *Redivision of the Colony*

VII.—There shall be a biennial registration of voters in every district, commenced and undertaken not later than the last day of March in the year next but one after the last preceding registration, and so on during each successive biennial period, and the list of voters resulting from such registration shall, upon publication in such manner as may be prescribed by the Lieutenant-Governor, be the list of persons entitled to vote.

The Lieutenant-Governor, on the completion of the voters' list made in pursuance of the second biennial registration, and upon the completion of the voters' lists, made in pursuance of every alternate biennial registration thereafter, appoint three Commissioners in the manner hereinbefore provided, and the said Commissioners shall proceed to redivide the Colony into districts for the election of elected members.

For the purpose of any such redivision the number of voters, as shown by the final lists made in pursuance of the last biennial registration, shall be divided by the quota of voters, and the number resulting from that redivision, or the nearest whole number thereto, shall be the number of electoral districts into

which the Commissioners shall redivide the Colony, and one member shall be elected for every such district.

The Commissioners shall in any such redivision of the Colony have regard to the same considerations as in the case of the first division of the Colony into districts as hereinbefore provided, and may adopt a like margin of allowance.

*The Lieutenant-Governor to preside in Assembly*

VIII. The Lieutenant-Governor shall attend and preside at all meetings of the Legislative Assembly, unless when prevented by illness or grave cause, and, in his absence, such member of the said Assembly as he may appoint; and in default of such appointment, the senior member of the Executive Council present shall preside.

*Power to make Laws*

IX. It shall be lawful for the Legislative Assembly, subject to the provisions of these Our Letters Patent, to make Laws required for the peace, order, and good government of the Colony.

*Governor's Assent to Laws*

X. When any Law has been passed by the Legislative Assembly, it shall be presented for Our assent to the Governor, who shall declare, according to his discretion, but subject, nevertheless, to the provisions of these Our Letters Patent, and to such instructions as may from time to time be given in that behalf by Us, Our heirs or successors, that he assents to such Law, or that he reserves it for the signification of Our pleasure thereon. A Law assented to by the Governor shall come into operation upon the day of its publication in the *Transvaal Government Gazette*, unless it be otherwise provided in the said Law: Provided always that it shall be lawful for the Governor, before declaring his pleasure in regard to any Law, which shall have been so presented to him, to make such amendments therein as he shall think needful or expedient, and by message to return such Law with such amendments to the Assembly, and the consideration of such amendments by the said Assembly shall take place in such convenient manner as shall in and by any Rules and Orders be in that behalf provided.

*Power of Crown to disallow Laws assented to by the Governor*

XI. Whenever any Law shall have been assented to by the Governor in our name, the Governor shall, by the first convenient opportunity, transmit to one of Our Principal Secretaries of State two copies of the Law so assented to, authenticated under the Public Seal of the Colony, and by his own signature; and We do hereby reserve to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors, full power and authority, and Our and Their undoubted right to disallow any such Law at any time within two years after such Law shall have been received by one of Our Principal Secretaries of State; and such disallowance, being signified by the Governor to the Legislative Assembly by message or by Proclamation in the *Transvaal Government Gazette*, shall make void and annul the said Law from and after the date of such signification.

*Laws reserved, when to take effect*

XII. No Law which shall be reserved for the signification of Our pleasure thereon shall have any force or effect within the said Colony until the Governor thereof shall signify, either by message to the Legislative Assembly or by Proclamation in the *Transvaal Government Gazette*, that such Law has been laid before Us in our Privy Council, and that We have been pleased to assent to the same.

*Manner in which the Public Revenue shall be appropriated to the Public Service*

XIII. It shall not be lawful for the Legislative Assembly to pass any Law, Vote, or Resolution which shall have the effect of appropriating any part of Our revenue within the said Colony, or of imposing any rate, tax, or duty unless such Law, Vote, or Resolution has been first recommended to the Assembly by message of the Governor during the Session in which it is proposed, and no part of Our revenue within the said Colony shall be issued, except under the authority given by the Lieutenant-Governor directed to the Colonial Treasurer thereof.

*Prorogation and Dissolution of Assembly*

XIV. The Lieutenant-Governor may from time to time prorogue the said Assembly by Proclamation, which shall be

published in the *Transvaal Government Gazette*, and the Governor may, whenever he shall think fit, dissolve it in like manner. The Governor shall dissolve the Assembly at the expiration of four years from the date of the return of the first writs at the last preceding general election, if it shall not have been sooner dissolved.

*Language in Debates*

XV. All debates and discussions in the Legislative Assembly shall be conducted in the English language, and all journals, entries, Minutes, and proceedings of the said Assembly shall be made and recorded in the same language; provided always that any member may, with the permission of the President, address the Assembly in the Dutch language.

*Oath to be taken by Members of Legislative Assembly*

XVI. Every member of the Legislative Assembly shall, before being permitted to sit or vote therein, take and subscribe the following oath before the President of the said Assembly:—

"I, *A.B.*, do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King Edward the Seventh, his heirs and successors, according to law. So help me God."

*Existing Legislative Council*

XVII. The constitution, appointment, and powers of the Legislative Council of the Transvaal, constituted under Our Letters Patent providing for the government of the Transvaal, and bearing date the 23rd September, 1902, shall continue in force until a day to be fixed by Proclamation of the Governor, when it shall become, *ipso facto*, dissolved.

*Revokes Clauses VII., VIII., and IX. of Letters Patent of 23rd September*, 1902

Upon such dissolution as aforesaid Clauses VII., VIII., and IX. of Our Letters Patent of the 23rd September, 1902, shall be revoked without prejudice to anything lawfully done thereunder, but save as aforesaid, Our said Letters Patent shall continue in

force, and these Our Letters Patent shall be read and construed as one with Our said Letters Patent of the 23rd September, 1902.

*Civil List*

XVIII. There shall be payable to Us, in every year, out of the revenues of the Colony, from whatever source arising, for defraying the expenses of the services and for the purposes enumerated in the Schedule hereto annexed, the sums therein set forth, and the said sums shall be issued by the Treasurer of the Colony in discharge of such warrants as shall from time to time be directed to him under the hand of the Lieutenant-Governor.

*Powers of Legislation, etc., reserved to the Crown*

XIX. We do hereby reserve to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors, Our and Their undoubted right with the advice of Our or Their Privy Council, from time to time, to make all such laws as may appear to Us or Them necessary for the peace, order, and good government of the Colony.

*Power reserved to His Majesty to revoke, alter, or amend present Letters Patent*

XX. And We do hereby reserve to Ourselves, Our heirs and successors, full power and authority from time to time to revoke, alter, or amend these Our Letters Patent, as to Us or Them shall seem fit.

*Publication of Letters Patent*

XXI. And We do further direct and enjoin that these Our Letters Patent shall come into operation forthwith, and shall be read and proclaimed at such place or places within the Colony as the Governor shall think fit.

In witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent. Witness Ourself at Westminster, this Thirty-first day of March, in the Fifth year of Our Reign.

By Warrant under the King's Sign Manual.

MUIR-MACKENZIE.

SCHEDULE

*Reserved Civil List*

The Lieutenant-Governor, £6,000.

The Judges of the Supreme Court, £22,000.

The official salaries of persons holding office under the Government of the Colony who are or may be members of the Executive Council, £20,000.

Any sums payable out of the revenues of the Colony to the Inter-Colonial Council under the provisions of the Order in Council, dated the 20th day of May, 1903, and entitled "The Inter-Colonial Council South Africa Order in Council, 1903," and under the provisions of any Order or Orders in Council from time to time amending or substituted for the same.

AT the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 27th day of March 1905.

*Present*:—

The King's Most Excellent Majesty. Lord President. Mr Secretary Lyttelton. Lord Suffield. Sir Herbert Maxwell.

Whereas His Majesty has this day, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, been pleased to direct that Letters Patent be passed under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for the purpose of granting representative Institutions to His Majesty's subjects in the Colony of the Transvaal, and the draft of the said Letters Patent has this day been approved by His Majesty in Council;

And whereas by the said draft Letters Patent it is provided that the registration of voters, the preparation of lists of voters, and all other matters relating to the qualification and election of, and the vacation of seats by, elected members of the Legislative Assembly of the said Colony thereby established shall be such as may be prescribed by any Order or Orders in His Majesty's Privy Council;

And whereas it is expedient to provide for the aforesaid and other matters necessary to be provided for upon the coming into operation of the aforesaid Letters Patent;

Now, therefore, His Majesty, by and with the advice of His

Majesty's Privy Council, is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, as follows :—

*Registering Officers*

1. For the purpose of compiling the general register of qualified electors necessary to enable the Colony to be divided into electoral districts as provided in the aforesaid Letters Patent, and for the purpose of the election of members in and for such districts when constituted, the Lieutenant-Governor shall, by Proclamation in the *Gazette* enjoin and direct some fit and proper person (hereinafter referred to as the "Registering Officer") to make out in and for each ward as hereinafter defined an alphabetical provisional list of all persons qualified to be registered as voters who are *bonâ fide* occupying premises in respect of which they claim to be qualified situated within such ward, or who are *bonâ fide* residing in such ward, in case the qualification in respect of which they claim to be registered is in respect of salary or wages.

Upon the issue of such Proclamation the Colonial Secretary shall cause a notice in the terms of Schedule (A) annexed, to be inserted both in English and Dutch in the *Gazette* and in some newspaper or newspapers circulating within the said ward, or to be given in such other manner as he may deem best for the purpose of general information.

*Particulars to be inserted in Provisional List of Voters*

2. The Registering Officer shall insert in the said list the name, residence, trade, profession, or occupation of every person who shall, in person, or by any writing under his hand witnessed by one witness at least, claim to be inserted therein, and the nature of the qualification in respect of which he claims to be registered as a voter; as well as of every other person who shall be known, or on reasonable grounds believed by him, to be entitled to be inserted therein.

*Provisional List to be posted in Public Place*

3. Upon the completion of such lists as aforesaid within the time to be named by the Lieutenant-Governor in the notice for that purpose, it shall be the duty of the Registering Officer to post and affix the same on the door of, or in some conspicuous

place near to, his office or dwelling-house, or in some other public place or places within the ward for which such list is framed. The said lists shall remain so posted or affixed between the hours of 7 in the morning and 5 in the afternoon daily for a period not less than five weeks.

*Penalty for tearing down, etc., List*

If any person shall, during such period as aforesaid, wilfully tear down, cover over, deface, or obliterate, either wholly or in part, any such list, or any such other list or notice as may be hereinafter mentioned, he shall, on conviction, be liable to be imprisoned, with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding three months.

*Notices to be annexed to Lists posted under last preceding Section*

4. There shall be subjoined or annexed to every list posted under the last preceding section, a notice signed by the Registering Officer, which notice shall be both in the English and Dutch languages, and shall be in substance as set forth in Schedule (B).

*Form of Claim and Objection*

5.—(1) The form of claim to be registered as a voter and the form of objection to the name of any person inserted in the aforesaid list, shall be annexed to the notice mentioned in the last preceding section, and shall be in substance as set forth in Schedule (C), and shall be signed personally by the claimant or objector, as the case may be, in the presence of at least one witness.

(2) Any person delivering to the Registering Officer any claim to be registered as a voter may tender such claim in duplicate, and it shall be the duty of the Registering Officer, when a claim is so tendered to him, upon satisfying himself that the contents of the original and the duplicate are alike, to retain the original and return the duplicate to the person who tendered it to him, having first signed the same and properly dated it.

(3) Every claim to be registered as a voter and lodged with the Registering Officer, shall be open to public inspection at the office or house of the Registering Officer, or at such convenient place within the ward as may be publicly notified by the

Registering Officer, between the hours of 10 in the morning and 5 in the afternoon, excepting Sunday, for the period between the last day for sending in claims and the day fixed by the Registering Officer for hearing objections.

*Registering Officer's Duty with regard to Claims*

6. It shall be the duty of the Registering Officer to receive and deal, as directed by this Order, with all claims to be registered as a voter which are lodged with him within the period prescribed for lodging claims, whether such claims are transmitted through the post or delivered or sent to him in any other manner. Immediately on the expiration of the period prescribed for lodging claims, the Registering Officer shall frame an alphabetical list of all claimants whose names have been lodged with him, which list shall be in the form prescribed in Schedule (D) hereto.

*List of Claimants to be posted up*

7. The Registering Officer shall forthwith post or affix the aforesaid list of claimants in the same place or places where the provisional list of voters, already framed by him, has been posted or affixed, and as close as possible to the said provisional list The said list of claimants shall remain so posted or affixed between the hours of 7 in the morning and 5 in the afternoon daily until the date fixed for the hearing of objections by the Registering Officer. Subjoined or annexed to every such list of claimants posted or affixed as aforesaid, shall be a notice signed by the Registering Officer, which notice shall be written both in the English and Dutch languages, and shall be in substance as set forth in Schedule (E) hereto.

*Registering Officer's Duty as to Objections*

8. At the time and place fixed by the notice in the last preceding section, the Registering Officer shall enquire into and decide upon all objections made to him on the said day by the objectors personally or by their duly authorised agents.

*Registering Officer's Duty after Claim received*

9. With regard to any claim lodged with the Registering Officer as aforesaid, either by transmission through the post or

in any other manner, if the Registering Officer is satisfied that such claim has been duly signed, filled in, and witnessed he shall add the name of the claimant in his provisional list; unless he has allowed in manner aforesaid any objection lodged with him against such claim, or unless he is not satisfied that the claimant possesses the qualification required by law. If not so signed, filled in, and witnessed, or if he has allowed an objection lodged against such claim, or if he is not satisfied that the claimant possesses the said qualification, he shall disallow such claim.

*Printed Forms of Claims and Objections to be distributed*

10. The Colonial Secretary shall, a sufficient time before the preparation of the provisional lists as aforesaid, cause to be supplied to the Registering Officer of every ward an adequate number of printed forms of claim and objection as required by the preceding sections; and it shall be the duty of every Registering Officer to supply a reasonable number of such forms to any resident of the ward who applies for them.

*Duties of Registering Officer after Claims and Objections dealt with*

11. As soon as the Registering Officer shall have dealt with and decided upon the claims and objections as aforesaid, and shall or shall not have had added names to or expunged names from the provisional list in accordance with such dealing or decision he shall—

(*a*) Frame a complete alphabetical list of persons who shall, in his judgment, be entitled to be registered as voters within the ward. The list shall be in the form prescribed in Schedule (F) hereto.

(*b*) Frame an alphabetical list of persons whose names have been removed from the provisional list by reason of the allowance of objections lodged against them, and of persons whose claims to have their names inserted in the list of voters have been lodged or handed in but have been disallowed. This list shall be in the form prescribed in Schedule (G) hereto.

(*c*) Transmit to the Revising Officer hereinafter referred to the said two last-mentioned lists, and also transmit to him all the original claims and objections lodged

with or handed in to him, whether such claims and objections have been allowed by him or not.

*Copies of Lists Posted up*

12. When transmitting the said lists and the said claims and objections to the Revising Officer the Registering Officer shall cause copies of the said lists to be posted and affixed to the door of, or in some conspicuous place near to, his office or dwelling-house, or in some other public place or places within the ward, there to remain for general information between the hours of 7 in the morning and 5 in the afternoon, daily, during not less than fourteen days. Subjoined or annexed to every such list so framed, posted, or affixed, a notice shall be written, signed by the Registering Officer, which notice shall be both in the English and Dutch languages, and shall be in substance in the form prescribed in Schedule (H) hereto.

*Revising Officer*

13. The Revising Officer for a ward shall be such person as the Lieutenant-Governor may by Proclamation in the *Gazette* appoint.

*Duty of Revising Officer on receipt of Lists*

14. On receipt of the two lists, and of the original claims and objections, the Revising Officer shall, by Notice in the *Gazette* and in some paper circulating in the ward, appoint a day on which he will attend at a stated place convenient to the voters for the purpose of revising, amending, and settling the list of voters in such ward; the day so appointed shall not be less than fourteen days from the date of the first publication of such notice.

Such notice shall be published as often as the Revising Officer may deem to be necessary, and it shall in substance correspond with the form of notice prescribed in Schedule (H) hereto, save that the place and date fixed for the attendance of the Revising Officer for revising the lists shall be expressly inserted. The Revising Officer shall post copies of the said lists and of the said notice in some conspicuous position at or near the door of the Court-house of the Resident Magistrate of the district in which such ward is situated, and if portions

of such ward are in different districts, then such lists and notice shall be posted in manner aforesaid at or near the door of the Court-house of the Resident Magistrate of each of such districts.

*Notice to Persons whose Names have been disallowed by Registering Officers*

15. The Revising Officer shall also forthwith give notice by letter, posted through the Post Office, to all persons whose claims have been disallowed by the Registering Officer or whose names have been removed from the provisional list by reason of the allowance of objections made to them, and also to all persons who have objected in writing to the right of any person inserted in the said list to be so inserted or to the right of any person claiming to have his name registered as a voter to be so registered, notifying the fact of such rejection or removal in the case of claimants, and in all cases notifying the date fixed for the holding of the Court of Revision as hereinafter provided.

*Procedure on hearing Claims and Objections and settling Lists*

16. Upon the day so notified as aforesaid, the Revising Officer shall attend at the stated place and hold a Court for the revision of the voters' list for the ward for which he is appointed; and it shall be lawful for any person whose claim has been disallowed by the Registering Officer or whose name has been removed from the provisional list by reason of the allowance of an objection made to it, and for every person who has objected in writing to the right of any person inserted in the said list to be so inserted, or to the right of any person claiming to have his name registered as a voter to be so registered, and for any person who shall be so objected to, to appear before the Revising Officer who shall hear them and, if he thinks fit, take evidence on oath.

*Powers of Revising Officer for taking Evidence*

17. The Revising Officer may, if he thinks fit, summon before him and examine on oath any person whom he shall in the course of such enquiry deem it necessary to examine, and may impose a fine not exceeding £10 on any person duly summoned

who shall, without lawful cause, refuse or neglect to attend, and he shall determine all questions brought before him, and revise and amend the voters' list according to law. The Revising Officer may adjourn his sitting from time to time.

*Person whose Name has been removed or Claim disallowed on objection to it must prove his Qualification*

18. Every person whose claim has been disallowed by the Registering Officer, or whose name has been removed from the provisional list by reason of the allowance of an objection made to it, shall be bound to prove his qualification to the satisfaction of the Revising Officer; and should he not appear, either in person or by an agent specially authorised in writing, then the claim of such person shall be dismissed.

*When Objector or Person Objected to does not appear*

19. If a person who has lodged a written objection with the Registering Officer, which has not been allowed, shall not, either in person or by an agent specially authorised in writing, appear to make good his objection, then such objection shall, without requiring any appearance or proof on the part of the person objected to, be dismissed. If such objector shall appear, and if the person objected to shall not appear in person, then, in case the objector or his agent (if he has appeared by agent) shall make oath that to the belief of the deponent such ground of objection does really exist, then the Revising Officer may, after forthwith enquiring into the grounds of such belief, either at once allow the objection, or dismiss it, or make such further enquiry on a subsequent day as shall appear just, giving notice, in every case of a further enquiry, to the person objected to, of the date when such enquiry shall be held.

*Costs*

20. It shall be lawful for the Revising Officer, should it appear to him fitting so to do, to adjudge to any person objecting or objected to, such reasonable costs against the adverse party as such Revising Officer shall tax and allow, and such costs shall be recovered in like manner as costs between party and party in a civil action tried in a Court of Resident Magistrate.

*Further Duties and Powers of Revising Officers*

21. The Revising Officer shall, in revising the voters' l in addition to the powers conferred on him by the prece section hereof, perform the duties and have the powers following

(1) He shall expunge the name of every per whether objected to or not, whose qualification stated in any list is, on the face of it, insufficier law to entitle such person to be included the unless, after reasonable enquiry, he shall be satis that such person does possess the necessary quali tion, and that his qualification on the said lis wrongly described, in which case he shall rectify qualification as described on the said list; provi that before expunging from a list the name of such person the Revising Officer shall cause four days' notice of the proposal to expunge the nam be given or left at the address of such person, as g on the said list;

(2) He shall expunge the name of every person, whe objected to or not, who is proved to him to be d or to be an alien; provided the notice requirec sub-section (1) of this section be given to every alien before his name is expunged;

(3) Before proceeding with an enquiry into the validit any objection he may call upon the person objec to furnish security for the payment of any costs he may be adjudged to pay.

*Revising Officer may state Case for Opinion of a Judge Chambers*

22. If the nature of any claim or objection be such that Revising Officer is doubtful regarding the decision proper to given upon it, it shall be competent for him to draw up a st ment of facts and such statement shall be signed by s Revising Officer in attestation of its correctness and be tr mitted by him to the Registrar of the Supreme Court to be before a Judge in Chambers. The Revising Officer shall in manner state a case for the decision of a Judge in Chamber the request of any of the parties in any claim or objection, such case when so stated shall be signed by the party at wh request it is stated as well as by the Revising Officer.

*Procedure in such Cases*

23. The Judge before whom any such statement as aforesaid shall be laid may, should the same appear to him defective, call for further information from the Revising Officer who transmitted it, and shall give such a decision as to him shall appear right and proper; the decision of such Judge shall be final and conclusive and not subject to any right of appeal or revision, and every register of voters affected by such decision shall be amended accordingly.

*Procedure by Revising Officer*

24. The Revising Officer shall, in all matters connected with the revision of the voters' list give his decision in open Court, and shall write his initials against every name struck out by him or added by him to any list, and against every part of any list in which any mistake has been corrected, or omission supplied and shall sign his name to every page of the list so settled and shall then write or cause to be written at the foot or end of each list a certificate that the same has been revised and is correct and shall date and sign such certificate.

*Final Lists*

25. The Revising Officer shall cause to be made out from the lists revised by him a complete final list according to the form in Schedule (I) hereto for each ward, and shall forward such lists when so made out to the Colonial Secretary, who shall make out from such lists a complete list of the voters of each electoral district.

*Final Lists to be transmitted to Commissioners*

26. The Colonial Secretary shall, whenever it is required under the aforesaid Letters Patent to divide the Colony into electoral districts, transmit to the Commissioners appointed thereunder to make such division the complete final lists of voters on which such division is to be made, and the Commissioners, after they have divided the Colony into districts, shall from the said lists make out a list of the voters for each district as nearly as possible in the form in Schedule (I), and the voters named in the said list shall be the persons entitled to vote at an election in that electoral district.

*Subsequent Registration*

27. The like proceedings in all respects *mutatis mutandis* as are hereinbefore directed in regard to the first registration of voters under this Order shall respectively take place in respect of every subsequent registration of voters undertaken in accordance with the provisions of the aforesaid Letters Patent, save and except as is otherwise provided in the next succeeding section.

*Framing of Provisional List at subsequent Registration of Voters*

28. It shall be the duty of the Registering Officer in framing the provisional list of voters at any subsequent registration of voters under this Order to insert therein :—

(1) The names of all persons on the existing register of voters within each electoral district, except the names of such persons who, on the day upon which the registration of voters shall commence, to the best of his knowledge and belief :—

(*a*) Are dead ;

(*b*) Do not reside in the said district ;

(*c*) Do not possess the qualification required by law ;

(*d*) Are subject to any disqualification.

(2) The names of all persons not on the existing register of voters who possess, to the satisfaction of the Registering Officer, the necessary qualification to have their names inserted on the list of voters for the district.

*Power of Registering Officer to demand Information concerning Voters from Officials*

29. In the performance of his duties every Registering Officer shall have the power, and is hereby required, to demand all necessary information from any Registrar of Births and Deaths, member of any police force, or the clerk of any Council of a municipality which may enable him to identify any person, or to ascertain the residence of any person, or whether he is dead, or whether he is qualified or disqualified to be registered as a voter, and any person who shall wilfully omit, or refuse, or unreasonably delay to give all the necessary information within

his power which he is asked by any Registering Officer to give shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding £10.

*Penalties*

30. If any Registering or Revising Officer or any officer employed in connection with the registration of voters, shall be guilty of any wilful misfeasance or wilful negligence, either in commission or omission, in contravention of the provisions of this Order, he shall be liable, upon conviction, to a penalty not exceeding £50, and, in default of payment, to imprisonment with or without hard labour for any period not exceeding six months unless the fine be sooner paid.

*Offences by Officers employed in Registration of Voters*

31. If, in the opinion of the Colonial Secretary, any Registering or Revising Officer or any other officer employed in connection with the registration of voters has been guilty of any wilful act or default contrary to the provisions of this Order, the Colonial Secretary may, by writing under his hand, after calling upon any such officer to furnish any explanation he may think fit, personally or in writing, and, after considering such explanation, advise the Lieutenant-Governor to declare forfeited, under this section, the whole or any portion of the remuneration payable to such officer for services performed under the provisions of this Order.

*Penalty for False Statements in Claims*

32. Every person who knowingly makes any false statement of fact in any claim sent in by him to the Registering Officer to be registered as a voter shall, on conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding £100, or to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding twelve months, or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

*Offences relating to procuring Registration*

33. Every person who shall by himself or any other person instigate, procure, or attempt to procure, or take part in procuring the registration of himself or any other person;

(*a*) As a voter in or for more than one ward; or

(*b*) As a voter knowing that such person has not the qualification required by law for such registration;

shall be deemed to be guilty of the offence of personation and shall be liable to punishment accordingly.

*Voters' List not invalidated by Reason of certain Omissions*

34. No voters' list shall be invalidated by reason that it shall not have been affixed in every place and for the full time hereinbefore required; but nothing herein contained shall be construed to exempt the Registering Officer or other person charged with the duty of publishing such list as aforesaid from the penalties of his neglect or wilful default.

*Rectification of Omissions*

35. If through any accident anything required by law to be done in the preparation or transmission of any voters' list is omitted to be done the Lieutenant-Governor may order such steps to be taken as may be necessary to rectify any such omission, and he may from time to time alter the form in the Schedules hereto in such matter as may be necessary for the better carrying out the provisions of this Order.

*Qualification of Members of Legislative Assembly*

36. Any person (save as hereinafter excepted) who shall be qualified to be registered as a voter in and for any electoral district shall be qualified and entitled to be elected a member of the Legislative Assembly for such or any other electoral district; provided always that no person holding any office of profit under the Crown, no unrehabilitated insolvent, and no person whose estate shall be in liquidation under assignment in trust for his creditors, and no person declared of unsound mind by a competent Court shall be eligible to be elected a member of the said Assembly. Provided, further, that the receipt of a pension from the Crown shall not be deemed to be holding an office of profit under the Crown, for the purposes of this Order.

*First Election of Members of Legislative Assembly*

37. The first election of members of the Legislative Assembly under this Order shall take place in the manner hereinafter prescribed in every electoral district on such day as may be

notified by the Lieutenant-Governor by proclamation in the *Gazette*.

*Nomination of Candidates for the Legislative Assembly and Proceedings thereon*

38.—(1) Upon the day named in the Proclamation mentioned in the last preceding section, the person appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in that behalf (hereinafter referred to as the Returning Officer) shall hold in a place stated in the said Proclamation, situated within the electoral district for which he is appointed Returning Officer, a public Court for the nomination of persons proposed as members of the Legislative Assembly for such electoral district; and every such person shall be nominated by some registered voter for such district, and such nomination shall be seconded by some other such voter.

(2) In case it shall happen that only one person is nominated as aforesaid, then the person so nominated shall forthwith be declared to be duly elected; but in case the number of persons so nominated is more than one, the Returning Officer shall fix a day upon which a poll shall be taken for the election of a member for the said electoral district, not being less than five clear days from the day of nomination, and the poll shall take place accordingly, and shall commence at 8 o'clock in the morning and close at 8 o'clock in the evening.

(3) Before fixing a day on which a poll shall be taken under the last preceding sub-section, the Returning Officer shall require of every person nominated as aforesaid a deposit of £100, out of which shall be paid by such person a *pro ratâ* share of the expenses mentioned in section 40 hereof. In no case shall such *pro ratâ* share exceed the amount of such deposit as aforesaid.

In case any person makes default in depositing such sum, he shall be deemed and taken not to be nominated as a candidate for an election.

*Polling Stations*

39. For the purposes of the poll to be taken as aforesaid, there shall be polling stations at convenient places within each electoral district. Notice shall be given by the Returning Officer on the day of nomination of the place where the polling stations shall be, and such Notice shall be published in some newspaper

circulating in the electoral district, and in such other manner as the Lieutenant-Governor may prescribe.

*Election Arrangements*

40. For all elections the Returning Officer shall provide such compartments, desks, ballot-boxes, papers, stamping instruments, copies of register of voters, and other things; appoint Presiding Officers and Polling Officers, and do such other acts and things, and make such arrangements to facilitate the taking of the poll as he may deem advisable for effectually conducting the election. Everything done by the Returning Officer under this section shall be in the first instance paid by the Colonial Treasurer, who shall recover from each candidate for election his *pro ratâ* share of such expenses as hereinbefore provided.

*Presiding Officer at Polling Station*

41. The Presiding Officer and other officers at the polling station shall keep order thereat, shall regulate the number of voters to be admitted at a time, and shall exclude all other persons except the Returning Officer, the clerks, the agents of the candidates, and the constables on duty.

*Retirement of Candidates from Contest*

42. If after a poll has been appointed at any election, any candidate nominated for election shall be desirous of retiring from the candidature, he may, not later than three days before the day of polling, sign and deliver a notice of his retirement to the Returning Officer, who on receipt thereof shall, if the number of candidates is by such retirement reduced to one, declare the remaining candidate to be on that day duly elected; and if the said number is not so reduced, shall omit the name of the person so retiring from the list of candidates, and such person shall not be capable of being elected at such election.

*Candidate's Agents*

43. Every candidate may, if he think fit, appoint by writing under his hand a person to represent him at the polling station, to see that the votes are fairly taken, and may also appoint in writing an agent to represent him at the counting of the votes by the Returning Officer.

*The Register to be conclusive Proof of the Right to Vote.*

44. No person shall be permitted to vote in any electoral district for any member of the Legislative Assembly whose name is not inserted in the list of registered voters for such district; provided always, that such list for the time being shall for all purposes be deemed and taken to be conclusive proof of the right to vote of every person whose name is inserted therein.

*Enquiries as to the Right to Vote*

45. No enquiry shall be made at any election as to the right of any person to vote, except that the Polling Officer may himself at the request of the agent of any candidate put to any voter the following questions, or any of them, and no other:—

(1) Are you the person whose name appears as A.B. on the list of voters in this district?

(2) Have you already voted at this election?

And no person who shall refuse to answer any such questions, or who shall not answer the first of such questions in the affirmative, and the second of such questions absolutely in the negative shall be permitted to vote.

*Penalty for False Answers*

46. Any person who shall wilfully make a false answer to any of the questions in the last preceding section, shall be liable on conviction to a penalty not exceeding £50, and in default of payment to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months.

*One Vote to be given by each Voter*

47. Every voter shall be entitled to give at any such election only one vote; and no voter shall be competent or permitted to vote at any polling station outside the ward for which he is registered.

*Manner of Voting*

48. The voting at all elections held under this Order shall be by ballot, which shall be conducted in substance and as nearly as is material in the manner prescribed in the Municipalities

Elections Ordinance 1903 for the election of members of the Councils of Municipalities, and the provisions contained in sections 41 to 52, inclusive of the said Ordinance, shall, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to elections under this Order.

*Returning Officer to transmit Names of Persons elected to Colonial Secretary*

49. As soon as the Returning Officer shall have declared the member of the Legislative Assembly returned for an electoral district, he shall without delay transmit to the Colonial Secretary the name of the member elected, and the number of votes received by the respective candidates.

*Names of Members to be published*

50. As soon as the Lieutenant-Governor shall have received from the several Returning Officers throughout the Colony the names of the persons elected by the several electoral districts as members of the Legislative Assembly, he shall, by Proclamation in the *Gazette*, publish the names of the members returned, together with the electoral districts which they severally represent.

*Vacancies, how filled*

51. When and as often as a vacancy shall by death, resignation, or other cause in this Order specified occur in the representation in the Legislative Assembly of any electoral district, the Lieutenant-Governor shall, as soon as he is informed of such vacancy by the Colonial Secretary, and the cause or causes thereof, by proclamation in the *Gazette*, command in like manner, *mutatis mutandis*, as is hereinbefore enjoined in regard to the first election under this Order, a new election for supplying such vacancy; and the like proceedings shall, *mutatis mutandis*, take place in regard to elections for supplying vacancies as are hereinbefore prescribed in regard to the first election under this Order; provided always that no member elected to supply any vacancy in the Legislative Assembly caused by the death, resignation, disqualification, or incapacity of any other member shall hold his seat longer than during the term for which the member occasioning such vacancy might, but for the cause creating the vacancy, have held his seat.

*Procedure upon any General Election by Dissolution*

52. Whenever, by reason of any dissolution of the Legislative Assembly, there shall be a general election for the members thereof, then the like Proclamation or Proclamations, *mutatis mutandis*, shall be issued by the Lieutenant-Governor, and the like proceedings, *mutatis mutandis*, be had and taken in regard to any such election as are hereinbefore directed in regard to the first election under this Order.

*Provision in case same Person elected for more than one Electoral Division*

53. In case the same person shall have been elected for more than one electoral district such person shall be bound upon being thereto required by the Lieutenant-Governor to decide what electoral district he will represent, and upon such decision being declared the Lieutenant-Governor shall by Proclamation command the Returning Officer of any other electoral district for which such person shall have been returned to proceed to the election of another person in the room and stead of the person so originally elected, and thereupon the like proceedings shall take place as are hereinbefore directed in regard to the original election; and if such person shall fail to make his decision as aforesaid when thereto required, then his election for every electoral district for which he shall have been elected shall be deemed to be null and void; and by Proclamation as aforesaid a new election for a member in place and instead of such person shall be commanded in regard to every such district.

*Electoral Expenses, Corrupt Practices, etc.*

54. The provisions of Chapters VIII. to XI. inclusive, of the "Municipalities Elections Ordinance, 1903," or any amendment of such provisions, shall, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to elections under this Order as if the said Chapters were embodied herein, with the following exceptions:—

(1) The reasonable and actual personal expenses of the candidate shall not be limited as in sub-section (10) of section 60 of the said Ordinance provided.

(2) The maximum expenses allowed for a candidate shall not be calculated as is prescribed in sub-section (1) of

section 61 of the said Ordinance, but shall be fixed by the Lieutenant-Governor.

*Assembly may transact Business notwithstanding Vacancies. Quorum. Debates*

55. The Legislative Assembly shall not be disqualified from the transaction of business on account of any vacancies among the members thereof; but the said Assembly shall not be competent to act in any case unless (including the Lieutenant-Governor or member presiding) there be present at and throughout the meetings of the Assembly ten members at the least.

*Questions to be decided by a Majority of Members present: presiding Member to have the casting Vote*

56. Subject to the provisions of the aforesaid Letters Patent, it shall be competent for any member of the Legislative Assembly to propose any question for debate therein, and such question, if seconded by any other member, shall be debated and disposed of according to the Standing Rules and Orders as hereinafter provided. All questions which shall arise in the Legislative Assembly shall be decided by a majority of votes of the members present other than the presiding member; and when the votes shall be equal, the presiding member shall have a casting vote.

*Rules and Orders of Assembly*

57. The Legislative Assembly shall from time to time prepare and adopt such Standing Rules and Orders as may be necessary to insure punctuality of attendance of the members of the Assembly, and to prevent meetings of the Assembly being held without convenient notice to the several members thereof, and to maintain order and method in the dispatch of business and in the conduct of debates in the Assembly, and to secure deliberation in the passing of Laws, and to provide that, before the passing of any Law intended to affect the interests of private persons due notice of the same is given to all persons concerned therein.

All such Rules and Orders approved of by the Governor, and not repugnant to the provisions of any Letters Patent or Order

in Council, shall at all times be followed and observed, and shall be binding upon the said Assembly.

*Laws reserved, when to take effect*

58. Whenever any Law has been reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon, and the Governor shall signify, either by message to the Legislative Assembly or by Proclamation in the *Gazette*, that such Law has been laid before His Majesty in Council, and that His Majesty has been pleased to assent to the same, an entry shall be made in the journals of the said Assembly of every such message or Proclamation, and a duplicate thereof duly attested shall be delivered to the proper officer to be kept amongst the records of the Colony.

*Laws to be printed in* Gazette

59. The Lieutenant-Governor shall cause every Law which shall have been assented to in His Majesty's name to be printed in the *Gazette* for general information.

*Copies of Laws to be enrolled*

60. As soon as may be after any Law shall have been assented to in His Majesty's name by the Governor, or having been reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure, His Majesty's assent thereto shall, in manner aforesaid, have been signified by the Governor, the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly shall cause a fair copy of such Law signed by the Governor, as well as by the Lieutenant-Governor, to be enrolled on record in the Office of the Registrar of the Supreme Court; provided, however, that the validity of any such Law shall not depend upon the enrolment thereof.

*Certificate of Disallowance to be enrolled*

61. As often as any Law provisionally assented to by the Governor in the name of His Majesty shall, in manner aforesaid, have been disallowed by His Majesty, the Governor shall cause a certificate of such disallowance certified under the Public Seal of the Colony, to be enrolled in the Office of the Registrar of the Supreme Court.

*Governor may transmit Drafts of Laws to Assembly*

62. The Governor may transmit by message to the Legislative Assembly, for consideration, the drafts of any Laws which it may appear to him desirable to introduce, and all such drafts shall be taken into consideration in such convenient manner as shall in and by the rules of procedure of the Assembly be in that behalf provided.

*Sessions of Assembly*

63. There shall be a Session of the Legislative Assembly once at least in every year, so that a period of twelve months shall not intervene between the last sitting of the Assembly in one Session and the first sitting thereof in the next Session.

*Place and Times of Holding Sessions of Legislative Assembly*

64. The first and every other Session of the Legislative Assembly shall, until otherwise directed by law, be held in Pretoria at such times as may be notified by the Lieutenant-Governor by Proclamation in the *Gazette*.

*Member's Seat in the Assembly, how vacated*

65. If any elected member of the Legislative Assembly shall fail for a whole ordinary annual Session to give his attendance in the Assembly without the leave of the Assembly, or shall cease to hold his qualification, or shall take any oath, or make any declaration or acknowledgment of allegiance, obedience, or adherence to any foreign State or Power, or shall do, concur in, or adopt an act whereby he may become the subject or citizen of any such State or Power, or shall become an insolvent, or shall assign his estate in trust for his creditors, or shall be sentenced to imprisonment for any crime without the option of a fine, or be found guilty of treason, or shall become of unsound mind, or shall accept any office of profit under the Crown, his seat shall become vacant.

*Resignation of Members*

66. Any elected member of the Assembly may resign his seat therein by writing, under his hand, addressed to the President, and upon the receipt of such resignation by the President, the seat of such member shall be declared vacant.

*Payment of Members*

67. There shall be paid out of the public revenue on the last day of every Session, to every elected member of the Legislative Assembly, the sum of £2 for every day of the Session on which he has been in attendance provided that the sum paid to a member for any one year shall not exceed £200.

*Modification of Provisions of this Order*

68. The Lieutenant-Governor may, by Proclamation in the *Gazette* at any time within twelve months from the coming into operation of this Order, vary, annul, or add to any of the provisions herein contained relating to the making and revising of lists of voters, the publication of lists of voters, and any other matter necessary for carrying into effect the provisions of this Order.

*Definition of Terms*

69. In construing this Order the following expressions in inverted commas shall have the meanings placed opposite to them :—

"The Colony" shall mean the Colony of the Transvaal.

"*Gazette*" shall mean the Government Gazette of the Transvaal.

"Governor" and "Lieutenant-Governor" shall include every person for the time being administering the Government of the Colony as Governor or Lieutenant-Governor respectively.

"Ward" shall mean :—

(*a*) In the case of the first registration of voters, a ward of a magisterial district as defined by Proclamation (Administration) No. 42 of 1904, or any amendment thereof, or such portion of such ward as the Lieutenant-Governor may by the Proclamation mentioned in section 1 of this Order, define as a ward.

(*b*) In the case of subsequent registration of voters, the electoral district itself or such portion thereof as the Lieutenant-Governor may, by Proclamation, define as a ward.

*Title*

70. This Order shall be cited for all purposes as the "Transvaal Constitution Order in Council, 1905," and shall come into force on the day on which the aforesaid Letters Patent shall come into operation.

A. W. FITZROY.

## MR LYTTELTON TO SIR ARTHUR LAWLEY

DOWNING STREET, 31*st March* 1905.

SIR,—In transmitting to you the Letters Patent which His Majesty has been pleased to issue, making provision for the introduction of elected Representatives into the Transvaal Legislature, I propose to review the circumstances which have influenced His Majesty's Government in tendering their advice to His Majesty on the subject.

Since I announced in the House of Commons, on the 21st July, 1904, that steps would shortly be taken to amend the existing political Constitution of the Transvaal Colony, I have had the advantage of discussing with Lord Milner confidentially, at considerable length and with much detail, the best means of carrying into effect that decision. I have received also from him information as to the state of opinion in the Colony, the distribution of population, and other facts of essential importance, and I have studied carefully the copious expressions of local opinion in the press and in the speeches and Resolutions at public meetings. His Majesty's Government have the satisfaction of knowing that Lord Milner, with his long experience of South African political and administrative conditions, concurs generally in the line of action which they have decided to follow, and they believe that it will command the adhesion of sensible and prudent men both in South Africa and in other parts of the British Empire.

It was never the intention of His Majesty's Government that the new Colonies should be for any length of time governed as Crown Colonies. This was made clear soon after the Proclamation of Annexation by my predecessor's statement in the House of Commons on the 7th December 1900, when he said: "I believe we can promise that there shall be throughout South Africa equal laws, equal liberty—not, indeed, political independence (in the first instance, that must be more restricted in these two Colonies than it is in the Colonies of the Cape and Natal), but a liberty and Constitution leading ultimately to self-government, which we all desire to see established as soon as possible." In accordance with this pledge, article 7 of the Terms of Peace of May 1902, contains the promise that "Military administration in the

Transvaal and Orange River Colony will, at the earliest possible date, be succeeded by Civil Government, and, as soon as circumstances permit, representative institutions leading up to self-government will be introduced."

The intentions of His Majesty's Government in regard to the fulfilment of that promise were more precisely stated by Mr Chamberlain in the House of Commons on the 29th July 1902, when he said in speaking of the Crown Colony Government: 'That is the first step. But we have always, from the very first, declared that that was only the first step; that we should go on gradually, and that the next advance would be to add to the official element a non-official element which would be, in the first instance, a nominated non-official element. Then we should go on from that probably to substitute for the nominative element an elective element; and after that nothing would separate us, but the circumstances of the time, from that full self-government which is, and always has been, our ultimate goal."

His Majesty's Government have thus given very distinct and specific pledges as to the course which the development of the political Constitution of the two Colonies should follow. The import of those pledges cannot be mistaken, and they have been given, not to one section or another of the population of whatever numerical importance or racial origin those sections may be, but to the inhabitants of the two Colonies as a whole. The promise was made to the entire community in December, 1900. It was repeated and confirmed to those who, on the 31st May 1902, by the Terms of Peace acknowledged themselves to be the subjects of His Majesty.

Considerable progress towards self-government has already been made. After the abolition of martial law, a nominated Legislative Council containing a minority of non-officials was established in each Colony. In municipal affairs great advances have been made. Elective Municipalities or Local Boards have been established in all the towns and larger villages of the Transvaal; while in the Orange River Colony, where similar institutions existed before the war, they have been in full operation since its conclusion. In all their domestic affairs the urban centres of the new Colonies are completely self-governing communities. The extension of Elective Boards to rural districts in the Transvaal has, it is understood, only been suspended because a deputation of the Farmer's Congress, received

by you on the 25th of May last, expressed apprehensions that the system might prove too expensive.

In July last His Majesty's Government felt that, so far as the Transvaal is concerned, the time had arrived when they could rightly meet the expectations created by the undertaking of my predecessor, and could take the next of these successive steps ultimately leading to full self-government. The moment seemed to be the more opportune because the census had just been taken, and the result, which would be known a few months later, would make it possible to consider a distribution of representation in some proportion to the population. His Majesty's Government had also in mind the fact that the term of the present nominated unofficial members of the Legislative Council would expire in May, 1905, and that it would be convenient to inaugurate elective representative government, if possible, by that date or not much later. Accordingly, on the 21st July, I made the already-mentioned announcement in the House of Commons, that His Majesty's Government had decided to give elective representative institutions to the Transvaal, and to substitute an elective element for the present nominated element in the Legislature.

Apart from the declarations which have been made and the pledges which have been given, the following considerations must be held to govern the grant of elective institutions to the new Colonies at the present time.

The Terms of Peace, to which I have referred, contemplate "representative institutions leading up to self-government." By "self-government" is meant, of course, the system under which not only legislation, but the very existence of the Executive, is based upon the consent of a majority in the Legislative Chamber. His Majesty's Government are aware that large sections of the people of the Transvaal have expressed the view that self-government in this sense should at once be granted, but they think now, as they did when the Terms of Peace were made, that some time, though not, they hope, a very long time, must still pass before the people of Colonies recently annexed after a long war should be entrusted with so great a control of their destinies.

Full self-government, as it is understood in the United Kingdom and in the self-governing Colonies, implies, and involves in practice, party Government; that is, control both

of administration and legislation by the political leaders of the party which holds a majority in the Legislature. In a country which possesses a certain degree of homogeneity based either on unity of race and language, or on a long history in common, or, better still, on both, this system can work well. It does not follow that the system of party Government would at once be beneficial to a country like the Transvaal inhabited by two distinct races, or until the memories of a war which of necessity caused much loss and suffering, and of the long period of political grievance and disability which preceded that war, have become less acute. Parties in the Transvaal must for some time yet mainly coincide with the line of races, and party Government would most probably mean government by one race or the other. It will become more practicable when the two races have, with equal rights of citizenship, lived and acted somewhat longer together, and when bitter memories have become softened by the healing effect of time.

Representative institutions, which bring together in one Assembly the freely elected representatives of all sections of the people to discuss questions of common concern and to transact common business, should materially aid in this harmonising process. But to constitute at once, and at the very birth of elective representative institutions, a complete system of Government by party would, it must be feared, as conditions stand at present, emphasise and stereotype the racial line, by making it also the dividing-line between Government and Opposition. His Majesty's Government are not prepared to take this responsibility, and they have reason to believe that they are supported in their view by a great body of opinion in the Colony itself. It must not be forgotten that a system of party Government would be new to the inhabitants of Dutch origin in the Transvaal, whose institutions differed materially from the system known in British Colonial history as "Responsible Government," with which Government by party is inseparably connected.

For these general reasons His Majesty's Government have always adhered to the policy stated by Mr Chamberlain in the House of Commons at the end of the year 1900, and embodied in the terms of the Agreement made with the Boer leaders at the end of the war. They have never swerved, or been tempted for a moment to swerve, from their view that the establishment

of elective representative institutions must precede by some interval the concession of full self-government.

This policy is dictated by the particular circumstances of the Transvaal, especially when regard is had to the fact that the precedent of the Transvaal will govern the procedure in the case of the Orange River Colony in due time. Moreover, it is based upon the lessons of experience. Other Colonies have passed through this stage on their way to full self-government. This was the history of Upper and Lower Canada before the union of 1840 and for some years after it; of the Australian Colonies, and New Zealand; of Cape Colony and Natal. There seems to be no reason for departing from precedents tested by experience in the case of a Colony like the Transvaal, in which the problems of government are so singularly difficult and the interests of the Empire are so closely concerned.

It is true that in the case of Canada full Responsible Government was conceded, a few years after a troublous period culminating in a brief armed rising, to a population composed of races then not very friendly to each other, though now long since happily reconciled. But the Canadas had by that time enjoyed representative institutions for over fifty years, the French Canadians had since the year 1763 been continuously British subjects, and the disorders which preceded Lord Durham's Mission and the subsequent grant of self-government could not compare in any way with a war like that of 1899 to 1902. It is also the fact that in the united Colony of Upper and Lower Canada during the period 1840 to 1867 parties were formed mainly upon the lines of races, and that, as the representatives of the races were in number nearly balanced, stability of Government was not attained, a difficulty which was not overcome until the Federation of 1867, accompanied by the relegation of provincial affairs to provincial Legislatures, placed the whole political Constitution of Canada upon a wider basis. It must further be remembered that, although there is an analogy between Canada and the South African Colonies, in that they alike comprise two European races of different origin, in South Africa the presence of a coloured population numerically much in excess of the white population makes it necessary to move with greater caution in the direction of political change.

The immediate grant of full self-government to the new

Colonies not being, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, as yet practicable, they have had under their careful consideration to what degree the present purely nominative element in the Legislature should be replaced by one of an elective character. It might well be contended that the safest and most prudent course would be merely to replace the existing nominated non-official minority in the Legislative Council by an elected minority. In this way the Council would be brought into more direct touch with the people, but the ultimate decision in all matters would rest with the Government, supported if necessary by the official majority.

His Majesty's Government very carefully considered this expedient, but came to the conclusion that it would not satisfactorily meet the circumstances with which they had to deal. Although not prepared at present to give full self-government to the Colony, they wish to concede the utmost liberty compatible with safety and with the stability of the Administration. The form of Legislature in which the elected members are in a minority has much to recommend it where the European population is of a less permanent character or not likely to increase largely, but as a step towards full self-government, and a means of education to that end, it is of little practical value, and His Majesty's Government recognise that the inhabitants of the Transvaal have a right to expect such an elective majority as will give them an effective control of legislation.

His Majesty's Government decided, therefore, that the Constitution of the Transvaal should be re-cast by the establishment of a Legislative Assembly, in which, with the exception of the Executive officers, all members should be elected, and that there should be a very large majority of elected members. His Majesty's Government are quite alive to the difficulties which attend a system of this kind. Experience has frequently shown that when an elected majority are able to impede an Executive Government, though they cannot displace it, there may be much friction. On the other hand, a system of this kind proved in Cape Colony from 1853 to 1872, and in Natal between 1856 and 1893, to be a school for self-government, a means of bringing citizens together in political co-operation, and a sphere for the natural selection of the men most fit to lead and ultimately to undertake the responsibility of administration.

I have dealt so far with the fundamental character of the new Constitution. I now desire to direct your attention to certain important dispositions necessary to carry it into effect.

As regards the franchise, there appears to be a general agreement that it will be well to adopt a franchise similar to the municipal franchise already existing for the towns, but somewhat lower, so that it may be applied to the whole country, subject to the proviso that ex-burghers over the age of twenty-one, whose names were on the voting lists under the South African Republic, should be allowed to continue to exercise the franchise without pecuniary qualification. This will secure a very liberal measure of representation, and at the same time will confirm in their electoral privileges a class which the misfortunes of war have, it is hoped, only temporarily impoverished. His Majesty's Government have been unable, having regard to the Terms of Peace signed in 1902, to make provision for the representation of any of His Majesty's coloured subjects. As a protection, however, for the interests of those sections of the population which are not directly represented in the Legislature, the Governor will, as now, be required by his Instructions to reserve any Bill whereby persons not of European birth or descent may be subjected to any disability or restriction to which persons of European birth are not also subjected.

His Majesty's Government consider that, having regard to the number of members in the former Volksraad, and to the present population, the Legislative Assembly should consist of from thirty to thirty-five elected, in addition to from six to nine official, members. This number will, they understand, meet the wishes of the community. A smaller number of elected members would be insufficient to ensure a Legislature thoroughly representative of the various interests of the country, whilst a larger number would seem to involve for the present too great a demand upon the community, especially in view of the fact that the system of automatic redistribution which has been adopted will inevitably lead to a considerable increase in the number.

His Majesty's Government have fully considered the possibility of preserving the old constituencies while adding new ones to them, but an examination of the result of the recent Census reveals very serious inequalities between them. At one end of the scale is Barberton, with a white population of 2,642, of

whom 1,143 are adult males; at the other end, Standerton, with a white population of 11,192, of whom 3,267 are adult males. The whole policy of the late South African Republic was in the direction of giving altogether disproportionate power to the country population, of which a striking proof is afforded by the disfranchisement of towns in 1886. Even in the last year of the Republic only one Representative was allotted to Johannesburg, with a population at that time of 76,500, while the districts of Rustenburg and Lydenberg, with populations of 13,000 and 3,500 respectively, each possessed two. It is difficult to justify in a new country, in which there are no constituencies dating back to a distant past, the perpetuation of an electoral system which would allot to constituencies such as Barberton, with 1,143 possible voters, equality of representation with (say) Standerton, which has 3,267, and would add to these inequalities the grave anomaly of new urban constituencies, deliberately created, which would have necessarily as their basis the maximum electorate of the rural constituencies. Such a proceeding would revive and accentuate antagonism between town and country, and His Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that the right course is to follow the numerical principle, as has been done in the most recent and important Colonial Constitutions, with its accompaniment of automatic redistribution.

The question whether the electoral districts should be framed on the basis of the number of voters or on the basis of population has also been carefully considered. In many countries where population has been taken as the basis, the number of voters in each constituency bears a fairly even ratio to its total population. But the peculiar circumstances of the Transvaal have led to the result that at present the adult male or voter population in certain regions is much larger in proportion to the rest of the population than it is in others. The reason for this is that in the rural districts early marriages and large families are the rule, while in the rapidly increasing industrial and urban districts there are at present a great number of young unmarried men. If, therefore, the whole population were taken as the electoral basis, a man in one district would have an unjustified preference over a man in another and a vote the value of which would be out of proportion to his contribution to the wealth of the country. Moreover, if population be taken as the basis,

redistribution must be governed by the Census, which is in ordinary course taken every ten years, and to take it more frequently would involve unusual and serious expense; thus automatic redistribution would be hampered and delayed, and large numbers would be deprived for unduly long periods of an adequate voice in the political affairs of the country.

A Commission will be appointed to create from thirty to thirty-five electoral districts upon the principle of an equal number of voters, and, for the purpose of enabling voters' lists to be compiled in advance, an Order in Council, a copy of which is inclosed, has been passed, making the necessary provision for registration of voters. This Commission will give due consideration to boundaries of existing administrative divisions, and will have power to adopt, in settling the boundaries of electoral districts, a margin of 10 per cent. of the quota of voters.

In accordance with the practice in similar Constitutions a Civil List has been reserved, which makes provision for the salaries of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Judges of the Supreme Court, and the members of the Executive Council, and also for the sums payable out of the revenues of the Colony to the Intercolonial Council under the Order in Council of the 20th May 1903.

I have now reviewed the matters of vital importance, and it is not necessary for me to refer to the details of the provisions which are set out in the Letters Patent.

In dealing with this question of a change of Constitution, His Majesty's Government have not overlooked the fact that the United Kingdom has a great financial interest in the political stability of the Transvaal, because as part of an arrangement whereby the British Exchequer guaranteed to the Colony the interest and principal of a loan of £35,000,000, certain prominent and representative persons undertook that the Colony should make a contribution of £30,000,000 towards the cost of the war. The Colony has reaped the advantage of the guarantee which has enabled the taxpayers to obtain the resources necessary for the development of the country on considerably easier terms than would otherwise have been possible.

His Majesty's Government are aware that it would be competent to them to ask the existing Legislative Council to pass the necessary legislation for the purpose of raising a war

contribution loan, and that the issue of the first instalment of £10,000,000 might then be made as soon as the financial position of the Colony enabled it to meet the charges of the additional debt; but they are anxious to avoid any appearance of imposing or exacting this contribution by compulsion. They desire that the contribution should be made—not so as to arrest the sufficient development of the Colony, or to impose undue taxation upon its citizens, but in the same willing spirit in which it was promised, reflecting the worthy desire to share the immense burthens which have fallen, as the result of the war, on all classes in the Motherland.

Actuated by this desire, and relying on the loyal spirit of their fellow-subjects in the Transvaal, His Majesty's Government have decided not to press forward the necessary legislation in the Legislative Council which is so shortly to expire, and have deliberately left the matter to the new Representative Assembly, in the assured belief that they will do what is right and just.

It is necessary to state here briefly the reasons why His Majesty's Government have not proposed that a change similar to that now made in the Constitution of the Transvaal should be simultaneously made in that of the Orange River Colony. They recognise that there are industrial and economic conditions peculiar to the Transvaal which make it very desirable in that Colony to have, at the earliest possible date, some better means of ascertaining the views of the different sections of the population than the present system affords. The question as regards the Orange River Colony being a less urgent one, it appears to them that there will be advantage in allowing a short period to intervene before elective representative institutions are granted to the last-named Colony, because this will permit His Majesty's Government to observe the experiment, and, if need be, to profit by the experience so gained.

His Majesty's Government recognise that the grant of the new Constitution in the present circumstances of the Transvaal, and so soon after the end of the war, will be regarded by some as a step not unattended by risk. On the other hand, they are aware that this Constitution will not satisfy the aspirations expressed recently by a large number of people in the Colony itself. It has, however, been the subject of their most careful deliberation, and it represents their final view as to the extent to which it is reasonable to proceed at the present time.

His Majesty's Government trust that those of British origin in the Transvaal who, with honest conviction, have advocated the immediate concession of full Responsible Government will recognise the soundness and cogency of the reasons, both in their own interests and in those of the Empire, for proceeding more cautiously and slowly, and that under a political system which admittedly has its difficulties they will, notwithstanding a temporary disappointment, do their best to promote the welfare of the country and the smooth working of its institutions.

The inhabitants of Dutch origin have recently witnessed, after their gallant struggle against superior power, the fall of the Republic, founded by the valour and sufferings of their ancestors, and cannot be expected, until time has done more to heal the wound, to entertain the most cordial feelings towards the Government of the Transvaal. But from them also, as from a people of practical genius, who have learned by long experience to make the best of circumstances, His Majesty's Government expect co-operation in the task of making their race, no longer in isolated independence, a strong pillar in the fabric of a world-wide Empire. That this should be the result, and that a complete reconciliation between men of two great and kindred races should, under the leading of Divine Providence, speedily come to pass, is the ardent desire of His Majesty the King, and of His Majesty's Government. I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant, ALFRED LYTTELTON.

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